

MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1919.

## THE Y. M. C. A. AND THE ARMY

Criticism of Methods and Personnel Heard From the Troops Is Held to be Unjustified.

By BURGESS JOHNSON.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Will you permit me to join in this discussion of Y. M. C. A. efficiency in France which has already taken some space on your editorial page? I read first the article by your correspondent Mr. James, which seemed to me discreditable because he is a trained reporter whose business it is to examine his facts and not accept hearsay; yet he made no charges which any intelligent observer in the field might not have easily sifted and dismissed. Mr. Mott's reply, may I say with all due respect, seemed merely mildly protesting.

It was my good fortune to spend two months in the "Y" uniform with the American troops at the actual front. I was not a Secretary assigned to a canteen or unit, but went from point to point, seeing the "Y" men at work, helping if I could in the short time I was with each one, and so getting an insight into their activities; and since I was not an official inspecting the work, but merely an "entertainer," I am confident that what I saw was natural, every-day behavior. I went from Pont-à-Mousson to Alsace, from division to division, and then joined a field hospital in the Second Division for the St. Mihiel drive; then up to a point near Chalons, preliminary to the final drive of the war. Incidentally, I was not a "Y. M. C. A. man" before going over.

All of the criticisms against the "Y" that I heard in the field, and I heard a good deal, fell into one or the other of two groups. It was either due to the unsuitable personality of an individual or it was an attack upon methods of canteen work.

As to criticisms due to the canteen, they were of many sorts, yet almost invariably without justification. The enlisted men were a crowd of normal boys who thronged the canteens and were naturally kindly in their judgments, but they came in an endless stream, and where there was an explanation for some apparent fault it was almost impossible for the canteen worker to repeat the story over and over and over again throughout the day. The boys who heard it would weigh it and accept it. The ones who did not hear it would go out silently, grumble, and make their charges.

Let me cite one typical criticism. When the "Y" warehouse for the 2d Division was at Toul there had been a prolonged shortage of chocolate. Finally several boxes were received and divided pro rata among the Secretaries in the field. The Secretary with a battalion of the 6th Marines got his proportion; the Secretary with an Engineers' outfit got a smaller supply. They planned to make it go as far as possible by limiting each purchaser to half a cake. The boys always understood these limitations and co-operated helpfully. But imagine the Engineers' Secretary, with his canteen near the front, suddenly raided by a crowd of tired, muddy, hungry marines, begging for chocolate, and too tired to hunt their own canteen. The Secretary could only say: "Here is all the chocolate that I've got, and it's meant for the Engineers." I can imagine the marines turning away disappointed, or angry, and saying: "What is the 'Y' for? Is it for the army, or just for the Engineers?" Or, supposing the Secretary decided to let his supplies go to the first comers. Then along came the Engineers to whom he was assigned. They knew him. He was acquainted with most of them personally. "I am sorry," he says, "but I gave all my chocolate to the marines, although they had a Secretary, with their share of the supplies, somewhere in the neighborhood." Whichever way the Secretary acted a lot of boys were sure to feel aggrieved.

I heard many criticisms due to such a situation. Why did it never happen in the case of the Salvation Army, for instance? Because the Salvation Army, splendidly effective as it was, honored by every one who dealt with its representatives in the field, was infinitely smaller in size and in obligations. The United States Army had not requested it to take over the canteen. It purchased materials up to the limit of its funds, made pies and doughnuts as near the front as it could, and gave them away to all comers while they lasted. Its representatives were not assigned to different units. If a boy got a doughnut and a helpful word, he was grateful. If he did not get the doughnut or did not see a Salvation Army man, he had no possible or fancied grievance.

I covered a good part of the American front. I think I heard samples of every kind of criticism, and there was plenty in the air. One officer likened the American family in Franco to a great sewing circle, everybody gossiping about everybody else. He overstated it, but that is a Major's comment, and not mine. What startles me now is the fact that certain new criticisms of "Y" work which seem to be arising from some source or other were not heard in the days of action. Some one now is saying, for instance, that "Y" Secretaries did not get to the front. Surely the number killed and wounded, decorated for bravery in action, the large number of huts captured by the Germans, disprove this. The Colonel of a regiment in the 1st Division said to me: "Four 'Y' Secretaries were attached to my regiment. Three of them were wounded in action, and the fourth escaped through no fault of his own. I have recommended all four for citation."

Statements as to profiteering and undue cost are not worth answering specifically here, because any one honestly desirous of knowing the truth can get army reports showing that every cost was subjected to official investigation by some one appointed by General Pershing, as well as by the War Department; that the budget of expenditures of the "Y" was frequently studied and approved by the military authorities.

It was an interesting fact about all sorts of criticisms in the field that the original critic made his charge in the half good-natured routine sort of way that was characteristic. I heard one branch of the army talk in just such a way about another branch, or men in another welfare organization talk about

their own superiors. It was only half meant—a sort of safety valve in a time of great nervous strain. But the man who picked up such charges second-hand often passed them on with added circumstantial detail and a bitterness that is unexplainable.

As to criticisms due to personnel, about one in thirty of the "Y" men I met who were dealing directly with soldiers seemed to me not well suited to their tasks. It seemed remarkable that the percentage was not greater in an organization suddenly expanding from rather narrow beginnings to meet this great emergency. Even the army, expanding with the same rapidity, found itself with many officers in the field unfit to command men; not subject to definite charges, you understand, but just unfit to command. The army is fully militarized. It can take a man out of the field where his unadaptability endangers lives and send him away without explanation on any sort of assignment which "saves his face"; and the army, with its splendid efficiency, was carrying on that sifting process all the time. So was the "Y," but it could not do it so speedily. The man of bad moral standards, such as any one of the three recently discovered and convicted, was a comparatively easy problem. All it needed was a little evidence, sufficient to prove the unfitness, and home or to prison he went. But I honestly believe that the worst charges to be brought against a "Y" Secretary in the field were lack of humor and lack of tact, and unfortunately you cannot jail a man for either of them: It is pretty hard for a partially militarized organization to send him home because of them if he has volunteered for a year's service and earnestly desires to serve. He can be taken away from contact with enlisted men and put perhaps into warehouse work. That sort of sifting was going on remarkably well, but it had to be slower, and before the evil of a few poorly selected "Y" Secretaries was overcome many criticisms had gotten so well under way that they could not be checked even after their cause was removed. One of the most interesting phenomena among our boys was the speed with which rumor would carry. An incident at one end of the line would be reported by boys in divisions all along the line as having occurred in new places. The stupidity or misbehavior of a single "Y" Secretary would echo and re-echo and become current gossip, not because it was commonplace, but because it was notable that a "Y" man should commit such an error of decency, or tact, or judgment.

I said that one in thirty of those I saw seemed to me a poor selection. I am referring to Secretaries within the field of action, subjected to the severest tests. The one man might have been splendidly efficient at some other work or in a less exacting neighborhood. And remember this—that in the army the officer who did his work effectively, who was brave in action and a good commander of men, would arouse no comment. He is what we expect of all our officers. So the "Y" Secretary who attended faithfully to the exacting duties imposed upon him by the canteen, and at the same time did all sorts of welfare work that came to hand, aroused no comment. He did what was expected of the "Y." But the square peg in the round hole, the Secretary who developed a streak of yellow under some severe test, or perhaps worst of all, the man who was bound to save souls in his own narrow traditional way, aroused a storm of comment and, mind you, he was the one "Y" man with whom, perhaps, one thousand boys came into contact. They measured the "Y" by him, and brought against the whole organization charges which pertained to his personality alone.

The canteen was but one of the "Y" activities; when I saw such a city as Baccarat, with its rehabilitated theatre open every afternoon and evening, its park turned into an athletic field, its hotel again in operation, and the morale, not merely of American troops but of the whole civilian population affected by these "Y" enterprises, I realized how small a part of the whole work the canteen was and what a handicap it might be. Other welfare organizations gave their smaller quantities of supplies free of charge to the troops. The "Y" had taken over the traditional army canteen, selling everything from bath towels to chewing tobacco. Neither officers nor men wanted these shops to give away their supplies, yet their operations show a deficit of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Our boys were not peupers. They wanted some place where they could make purchases with their spending money. But wherever troops went into action, the Secretaries accompanying those troops were supposed to requisition all of their own canteen supplies and give them away free, charging them up to "welfare work."

The canteen turned an army of welfare workers into an army of shopkeepers, which affected not only the welfare worker but the attitude of the enlisted men toward him. True, it gave the "Y" man a means of closer approach and a greater opportunity for service, but sometimes its terrific monotony took the spirit out of him, and the constant necessity of reporting to the boys a lack of this or that item in the supplies took away his "pep" through no fault of his own. It is no criticism of the "Y" that supplies were often short. Ask any officer from the field how well the army commissary served him, with its long list of items often reduced to tupperware and matches, at points where evildoers clamored for tobacco and sweets.

But it is no argument at all to answer criticisms of one organization by charging similar faults in another. Let me summarize by saying that I had an opportunity to observe Y. M. C. A. secretaries in Bordeaux, Brest, Paris, and all along the American front. The dominant impression remaining in my mind is of a body of men and women wholly self-sacrificing, absolutely devoted, adapting themselves surprisingly well to multifarious tasks, with an occasional misfit so great in the minority as not to affect the picture, even though he has been able to stir up a noise vastly out of proportion to his importance. I feel that it was an honor to wear the "Y" uniform, and I wish here to express to the "Y" my gratitude for the rare opportunity I was given to perform even so brief and small a service.

BURGESS JOHNSON.

Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Jan. 17, 1919.

# Congressional Record.

WORLD LEAGUE OF PEOPLES FOR PEACE—  
LET PEOPLE VOTE ON QUESTION OF DEC-  
LARATION OF WAR.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLARENCE C. DILL,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, January 21, 1919.*

Mr. DILL. Mr. Speaker, never before in history have the people of the civilized world desired permanent world peace so strongly as they do to-day. They have lost faith in the old methods of trying to prevent war. They demand the adoption of some new plan based on principles in harmony with the new spirit of democracy that is engulfing autocratic and arbitrary power all over the world. To meet this demand and to harmonize with the new conditions, I propose a World League of Peoples for Peace.

DIFFERENT FROM LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

When I use the term World League of Peoples for Peace, I do so to differentiate this plan from the league of nations plan which the rulers of the countries victorious in the world war are discussing. A league of nations such as they propose will in reality be a league of governments and therefore of government officials. The men who would be in charge of such a league, could and would prevent many wars. It is because the free peoples of the world believe such a plan will prevent future wars that they so strongly favor its formation.

But even though such a league would prevent many wars, it could not guarantee permanent world peace, because under that plan the rulers of the various nations would continue to have the power to start a war without submitting the question of declaring war to the people. If we are to insure permanent world peace, or at least prevent all wars not desired by the people themselves, which will prove to be the same thing as the years go by, we must form a world league of peoples whose rulers can not start a war which will break the peace of the world, until the people by majority vote have authorized them to do so.

TAKE POWER FROM RULERS.

Just as long as any man or set of men, and I care not who they are or what they are called, whether they be kings or emperors, presidents or premiers, members of houses of deputies or of congresses, I say just as long as any man or set of men who are not required to do the fighting or the dying have the power to start a war which will break the peace of the world, that long we shall have war.

RULERS STARTED WORLD WAR.

The terrible world war which has just ended was started by the arbitrary act of one ruler, or at most of a few rulers, of the countries of central Europe. The people of Austria and Germany had nothing to say about its beginning. I confidently believe that if the Austrian people, held in subjection and kept in ignorance as they had been even, had been allowed to vote on the question of whether or not Austria would go to war against Serbia because a Serbian had shot an Austrian, the Austrian people would have voted against war. If they could have prevented that declaration of war, the world conflagration would not have started. For, be it remembered, it was the Austrian Emperor's declaration of war on Serbia, July 28, 1914, that precipitated the world conflict.

But the Austrian Emperor was not the only ruler who had and exercised the power to declare war. The Kaiser declared war for Germany. The Czar declared war for Russia. The French cabinet declared war for France. The British ministry declared war for England.

When Austria declared war on Serbia, Russia mobilized to protect Serbia, as she was bound to do under her treaty with Serbia; and Germany mobilized to assist Austria. Then the Kaiser declared war on Russia and ordered his armies to invade France, because France was an ally of Russia. England was bound by treaty to protect the coast of France and maintain the integrity of Belgium, and entered the war when Germany invaded Belgium. Thus the act of the Austrian Emperor forced all of these nations into the war almost simultaneously.

## CAN NOT VOTE ON SELF-DEFENSE.

This result was inevitable when Austria attacked Serbia, and Germany and Russia entered the war. War was a matter of self-defense and the fulfillment of treaty obligations. These questions could not be submitted to the people. There was not time to submit the question of self-defense to the people for a vote if national existence were to be maintained. Nor would there ever be time for that. But there was time before the beginning of this war, and there is always time before the beginning of any war which breaks the peace of the world, to submit the question of whether or not one nation will attack another, will invade another, will start a war against another.

## IN UNITED STATES, CONGRESS DECLARES WAR.

Yet in not a single country which afterwards entered the war would the people have been called upon to say by their votes whether or not their country would have started this war, had it been their country, instead of Austria, that was faced with taking such a step. We boast of our democracy in the United States, but even here the people can not start or prevent a war. We have taken one step toward democracy, however, by placing the power to declare war in the hands of the representatives of the people. History shows, though, that while Congress does possess that power, in reality the President exercises it.

## CONGRESS ALWAYS OBEYS PRESIDENT.

Congress has always declared war when the President desired war and Congress has never attempted to declare war unless the President wanted war. That was true of the War of 1912. It was true of the Mexican War. It was true of the Spanish-American War. It was true of this war. It will probably be true of every war in which the Nation engages so long as the present method of declaring war continues. If we would prevent war we must place the war-making power of our Government under the direct control of the people themselves, just the same as must be done in other countries.

## PEOPLE SHOULD CONTROL.

Why should the people not say for themselves whether or not their country shall go to war? They must do the fighting and the dy-

ing. They must make the sacrifices and bear the burdens. They and their children and their children's children, even unto generation after generation, must pay the cost of the war, not only in money, but also in a physically and morally weakened race resulting from the loss of the flower of the Nation's manhood in war. Why should the people not vote on a question that affects so vitally not only their happiness and prosperity, but the actual continuation of civilization itself and their own very existence on this earth?

## PEOPLE WILL LEARN ABOUT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

If it be said they do not know enough about international relations, I answer that placing in their hands the responsibility of deciding the greatest international question that can arise will of itself cause them to learn more about international affairs. Not only will the people of this generation become better fitted to pass upon international questions, but Governments will find it necessary to provide for better education of the children of all the people in order to fit them for their enlarged responsibilities, and instead of teaching them the glories of war, we shall teach them its horrors, its destruction, and its savagery. It will put an end also to secret international agreements, so often the hidden source of war, by forcing diplomacy into the open and compelling Government officials to deal with foreign countries in such a manner that their conduct will square with the people's desires.

International affairs need be no more complex than national affairs. One of the methods which rulers have used for mystifying the people in the past has been to make international affairs as complex as possible, and the results have been terrible. During the past 400 years the rulers of the nations have had complete control of international affairs and also of the power to declare war. And what has been the result? According to Frederick A. Wood and Alexander Baltzly, who have made a most painstaking study of the history of wars during the last 400 years, practically all of the leading nations of Europe have been in a state of war more than one-half of that time. Spain has been in a state of war 257 years; Russia, 238 years; Turkey, 232 years; Austria, 211 years; England, 207 years; France, 192 years. Surely the people could do no worse.

PEOPLE AGAINST WARS FOR TRADE AND TERRITORY.

If it be said the people will make mistakes, I answer that it will be better to let the people make their own mistakes than to force them always to suffer for the mistakes of others, as in the past. There are those who fear that the people might vote against wars which certain rulers or particular interests that might profit by them would want. Their fears are justified, too. For instance, I believe the people would never vote to start a war for securing new territory or more trade. Achille Loria, the noted Italian sociologist, after studying the causes of 286 wars decided that 258 were due to trade, territorial, and other economic causes, and that the other 28, while said to have been religious, were greatly influenced by economic causes. Thus, if the people should refuse to be guilty of trying to secure land at the cost of human lives or to win trade by the shedding of human blood most wars would be averted.

If a mistake is to be made regarding a declaration of war it is better it should be made on the side of preventing war rather than on the side of starting war, because if the people vote against war and it proves to be a mistake they can always rectify it by voting for war; but if a mistake is made by beginning a war and a nation becomes involved in the struggle there is no human power that can draw it out until the war has been fought to a decisive conclusion with all its attendant suffering, horror, and death.

PLAN IS DEMOCRATIC.

In fact, every objection that can be raised against the people's voting on the question of declaring a war that will break the peace of the world, when considered from the standpoint of democracy, becomes a new reason for the exercise of that power by the people. This proposition is not revolutionary. It is simply an extension of democracy to the war-making power.

PEOPLE VOTE ON EVERYTHING BUT WAR.

The people vote now on questions affecting them in minor ways. They vote on the question of prohibition. They vote on the question of woman suffrage. They vote on questions of taxation. In fact, there are practically no great questions affecting the people's welfare on which they can not vote directly or indirectly except the question of whether or not

the men and boys of their country shall go to another country to kill and be killed by the men and boys of that country and thereby orphan the children, widow the wives, and mortgage the lives of the unborn generations of both countries. On that question they never have a chance to vote, because their rulers declare war, and once war is declared it becomes their patriotic duty to win the war. When the people are in the midst of a fight or have won it they can not go back and decide whether or not it should have been begun.

PEOPLE OF ALL NATIONS MUST HAVE POWER TO VOTE ON DECLARATION OF WAR.

For the people of one nation or of a number of nations to exercise the right of voting on the question of declaring a war when all the world is at peace will not be sufficient to insure world peace. That right must be exercised by the people of all the great nations of the world, so that no ruler or set of rulers can secretly agree to prepare and when prepared begin a war on the rest of the world, as will be possible under the league of nations' plan by which it is expected to enforce peace.

I am not speaking against a league of nations. We want such a league established, because it will be a great step forward in the development of internationalism. But if it depend entirely upon force as the last resort to prevent war it will some day plunge the world into a world war worse than the one which has just ended. Sooner or later some rulers with the power to start a war will become so ambitious for military glory and world power that they will unite to defy and, if necessary, lick the league.

MAKE PUBLIC OPINION MORE POWERFUL THAN ARMAMENTS.

In order to meet such situations, reaching beyond the agreement which binds the Governments into a league of nations, there must be another international agreement which lodges in the people of the respective nations the power to say finally whether or not when the Government officials of different countries can not agree they shall be allowed to start a war which will break the peace of the world. When the threat of force contained in the army and navy of the world league can not prevent certain rulers from starting a war, the peoples of the world must then be able to call into operation a still stronger power to control those rulers, namely, the power of

public opinion, quietly and unpretentiously expressed in little voting booths scattered all over the country, in every community and hamlet of the land whose rulers desire to start a war.

#### LEAGUE OF PEOPLES WILL COME AFTER LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The fact that the league of nations will not always prevent war is not an argument against its formation. It is simply a reason for providing further means of preventing war after a league of nations has been formed.

It would be impossible at this time to make complete the formation of a world league of peoples such as I have discussed. The present rulers of the nations could not be induced even to consider its formation immediately. Once the league has been established, though, the free peoples of the world can then bring organized public opinion to bear in such a manner that they can democratize the league of nations sufficiently that its officials will formulate an international agreement embodying the principle of the people's direct control of the war-making power and submit it to the various Governments for ratification. Such agreement must provide also for the right of the people to repudiate unfriendly acts by a Government official toward another nation and to make full recompense to the injured nation for any wrongs that may have been done in cases where an official acted without authority.

#### TWO METHODS OF FORMING LEAGUE OF PEOPLES.

I believe this is the quickest, easiest, and most orderly way of bringing about this world-wide reform. But if such an international agreement can not be secured through the league of nations, the people themselves in the various countries can bring it about eventually by first compelling such changes in their respective Governments as will enable them to exercise the right of voting on the question of declaring a war when the world is at peace and their country is not in danger of invasion or torn by revolution or insurrection. Once the people win this power, they can easily force the making of treaties between the nations, providing each

will not start a war against the other except by a vote of the people.

#### PEOPLE MUST ORGANIZE BRANCHES OF WORLD LEAGUE NOW.

But whichever method is used, the people will find it necessary to form branches of this world league of peoples in the various countries for the purpose of organizing public opinion to make it effective in bringing about the democratization of the war-making power of nations at the earliest possible date.

#### MOVEMENT WILL BE OPPOSED BY THOSE WHO FEAR TO TRUST THE PEOPLE.

I realize the tremendous task to be performed in getting this movement under way. I know something of the forces that will fight it. Leading statesmen of the world, so called often because they are steeped in the precedents of the past, will declare the idea impractical and Utopian. Noted newspaper editors will ridicule it. Those who are afraid to trust the people will call it socialistic and bolshevistic. But that will not affect its progress seriously, because it will be rooted in the hopes and purposes of the masses of the people everywhere who hate war and are determined to abolish it. More and more they will come to realize that the only certain method of abolishing war is to take into their own hands the control of the power to start war. When once they have become convinced of this truth throughout the world no human power will be able to prevent them from working their will, and its adoption will be the greatest advance of democracy in the whole history of popular government.

#### ABOLITION OF WAR IN HARMONY WITH DIVINE LAW.

War must end. The mother heart of the world pleads for it. The voices of humanity preach for it. The war-burdened millions of earth demand it. But only the votes of the plain people of the world can command it. It may take 10 years, it may take 20 years, or 50 years, or even 100 years to work this reform, but it will come. It will come because it is in harmony with the divine law, "Thou shalt not kill," and the human law, "The people shall rule."

# THE WAR WORK OF THE Y.M.C.A.

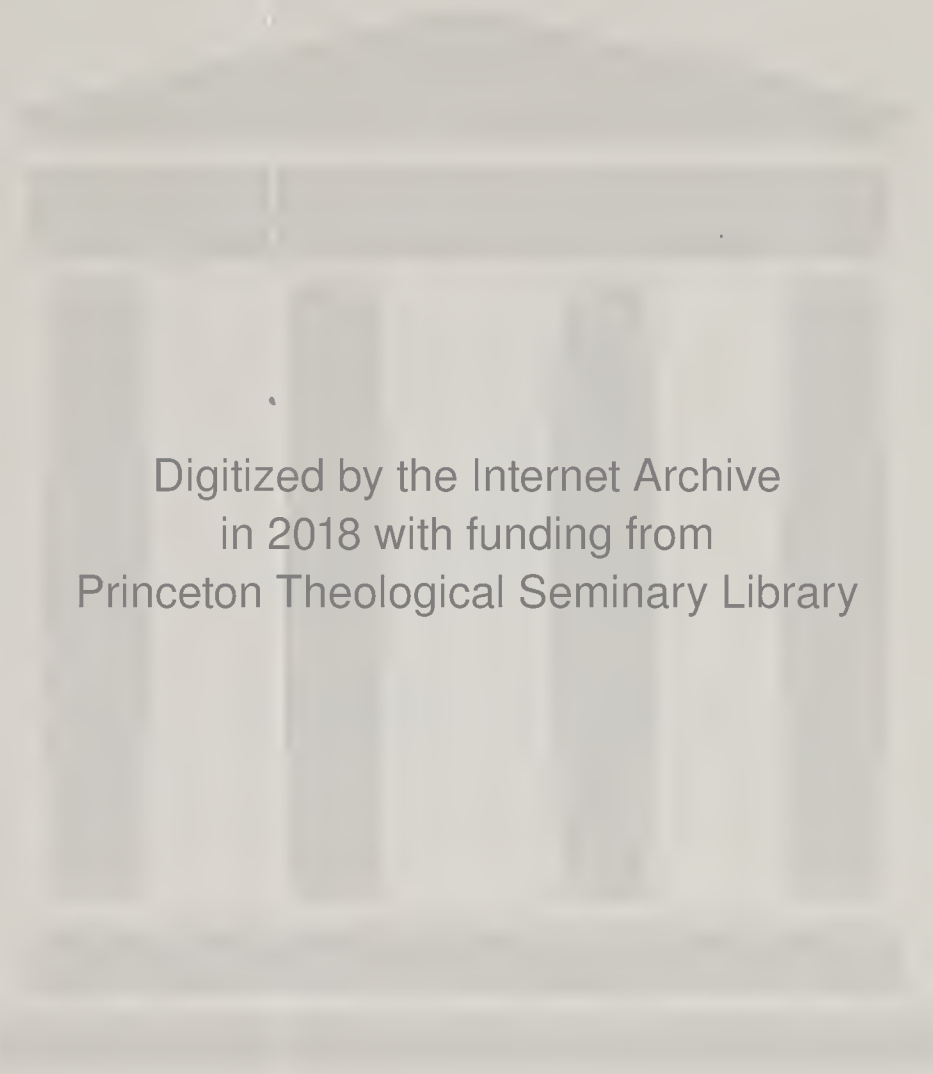
Address Delivered by

**JOHN R. MOTT**

Carnegie Hall  
New York City

Saturday, February 8, 1919

Under the auspices of  
**The League for Political Education**



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## THE WAR WORK OF THE Y. M. C. A.

Dr. John R. Mott, General Secretary of the National War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A., speaking Saturday morning, February 8th, 1919, in Carnegie Hall before the League for Political Education said:

Naturally more of the complaints concerning the war work of the Y. M. C. A. come to me as General Secretary of the National War Work Council than to any other one person. It will interest you and I think surprise some of you when I say that the chief impression made upon me by reviewing all of these criticisms is this: What a vast area of this work is untouched by these complaints and what a comparatively small part is touched at all by them! How many complaints have we heard, in a time when we might have expected to hear more than usual, concerning the regular work of the Young Men's Christian Association that existed before the war and that has gone on right in the teeth of this war; that work of thousands of Association branches in North America, with their five thousand executive officers, with more than one hundred million dollars in buildings that have been working ceaselessly night as well as day, for the physical, social, mental, moral, and spiritual betterment of all classes of men and boys? It seems to me that there never has been a period since I have known the Association (and I have known it for over thirty years) when I have heard so little criticism concerning this work of the Associations on behalf of young men in American cities and rural communities, young men in industries, on railways, in colleges, and elsewhere, as in this war period! I would remind you that from this established and well-known work have come largely the real leaders, the effective methods and the spirit of the war work of the Y. M. C. A. That is, they are all of a piece. There has not been raised up for serving the soldiers and sailors a new Movement that has taken over some new traditions, ideas, and leaders or that is animated by a new spirit.

How many criticisms have you heard about what this organization did for soldiers and sailors before this war? I have not heard, at a time when the law of association would have called it up, if at any time, any criticism by veterans of the Civil War concerning what the Y. M. C. A. did under the name of the Christian Commission which, as every well informed man here knows, was the Y. M. C. A. working for our soldiers in that struggle, furnishing the workers, the money, the plans. Nor have you heard, I venture, any serious criticism regarding what was done in the Spanish-American war. Not long before his death I had a conversation there on his porch at Oyster Bay with Roosevelt and he harked back to the splendid service rendered by the Y. M. C. A. in Cuba, in Texas, and in other parts of the South, and from that he went on to say, "Anything I can do to help you men in this present time, I am going to do." "Oh, for the touch of a vanished hand and the sound of a voice that is still!"

Nor have we heard any complaint whatever concerning what the American Y. M. C. A. did on the plains of Manchuria and in the ports of embarkation of the Japanese Islands in the Russo-Japanese war when, in union with the Japanese Association workers, it was permitted to minister to 700,000 Japanese soldiers in the midst of very difficult conditions—a work so well done, notwithstanding the meager resources at the disposal of the Association, that the ruler of Japan, a non-Christian ruler, was so profoundly impressed that he made his first gift to



Christianity, a gift of \$5,000 toward the army work under American Y. M. C. A. leadership.

Come now to our work in Mexico and on the Mexican border, how insufficiently that work was done, and yet how little complaint about it we have heard at a time when, if ever, I repeat, men would be recalling weaknesses and pointing to flaws. Only last April when I was having luncheon with General Pershing at his Headquarters in France, he spoke with deep appreciation of the way the American Y. M. C. A. had served along the Border during that trying, irksome period and how this organization had gone with him into the area of occupation and stood by when it was most needed. I remind you again, the character of the organization has not changed, its ideals have not been abandoned, the original spirit has not departed.

Now take the war work that we have been doing on this side of the Atlantic since America entered the war. Have you been keeping a record as has been done in my office? If so, you will find there have been next to no complaints about what we have done in the great cantonments and other large camps and in countless small detachments from sea to sea and along our coasts in serving the American Army and Navy. To my mind it is highly significant that working in nearly one thousand buildings, tents, and other structures, with a staff of over four thousand secretaries conducting their varied, helpful activities before the very eyes of the people who could criticise, were there ground for criticism, the Association has been commended for doing a very good piece of work and by none has it been more praised than by the men who are being served and also by leaders of the sister organizations with which we were glad to cooperate in the recent Campaign.

Now look beyond the United States in this war. What complaints have you heard about our work on behalf of the Italian Army of three million men? In Italy we have been working under more difficult conditions than in certain other parts of the war zone. The Supreme Command of the Italian Army had an inspection made of what the American Y. M. C. A. was doing for the A. E. F. and on the strength of that investigation said, "We must have a similar work in the Italian army." They invited us to furnish secretaries and to back the work financially. When I was in Italy a few months ago I visited this work of ours, from the sun-baked plains of Venetia, away up to the icy heights of the Trentino, where in the midst of the granite crags I found what we call the huts, or abodes of the Casa del Soldato under the leadership of the American Y. M. C. A. This was 6,000 feet above sea level on the snow line, where the Association workers as well as the soldiers suffered more than at any other point unless it be the men who suffered so much from heat on the plains of Mesopotamia. The King of Italy sent for me to visit him in his villa near the front lines. He kept me an hour questioning me about our methods and our work. I was wearing the Association uniform, as was the custom in the military zone. His Majesty, observing the triangle on the sleeve, asked me to tell its significance. This afforded me a good opportunity to explain the distinctive principles of our work. He became especially interested as I expounded the physical, mental, and spiritual building up of men. At the end of the interview he said, "Tell the American Y. M. C. A. to spread its work to the maximum in our army." We now have nearly three hundred workers there under the leadership of Dr. Nollen, President of Lake Forest University.

What have you heard in the way of adverse criticism concerning the activities of the Y. M. C. A. throughout the vast areas of Russia? When I was there as a member of the Root Mission in 1917 I was much impressed by the opportunity to serve the then dissolving Russian Army and loyal elements among the Russian peoples, and it interested me to see that every member of the Mission came to the conclusion that the American Y. M. C. A. should be extended to Russia in that hour of grave national need.

With such encouragement as the President and others gave we established the

work and now have a staff of nearly one hundred men in Vladivostok and scattered across Siberia almost to the Urals, also in the region of the northern ports. Before the more ominous stage of the Revolution we had our workers in the heart of ancient or Holy Russia and along the disintegrating Western front. We have had an extensive correspondence with those workers and have had interviews with Russians of various parties, but I do not recall a single adverse criticism made with reference to that work. I wish you could have heard Dr. Masaryk, the President of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic, comment upon it with the greatest appreciation. Some of you heard Mr. Colton quote the Czecho-Slovaks as saying that they look upon the American Y. M. C. A. as the uncle of the Czecho-Slovak movement, having in mind the way in which we befriended them in the darkest hour and the practical manner in which the Association has served them all through their remarkable Russian experiences from the time they were imprisoned until they had fought their way to the Pacific. In a very true sense the American Y. M. C. A. helped them to become the rallying center around which gathered other stable elements. Later, when the Allies went in we were permitted to serve the American, the Canadian, the British, the French, the Japanese, as well as the Czecho-Slovak troops and the loyal Russians. General Graves, the highest American military commander now on Russian soil, has recently said that in his judgment the American Y. M. C. A. has done more to stabilize Russia than any other influence, and that it has been the best interpreter of the spirit of the American people to all parties in Russia.

Think also of what we have been permitted to do in hand with our British brothers, all through the war in serving the men that have guarded the Suez Canal, that great Allied key position; and how we have been permitted with the Australian, the New Zealand, and the British secretaries to go with Allenby all through the wonderful Palestine campaign; and how, with the British and Indians, with whom it has been an honor to be associated, we were able to work and to suffer on the plains of Mesopotamia until splendid victory was achieved; and how we have been able to blend the sacrifices of the American people, as well as the Association experience in those never-to-be-forgotten days of helping to nerve the men to impossible tasks on the Gallipoli Peninsula, where undying glory gathered round the heads of the men who survived as well as of those who perished; and how in Macedonia, where the great bloody wedge was driven in that took Bulgaria out of the war and stabilized Greece, the American Y. M. C. A. was not found wanting.

Nor do I need to remind you of what we have done for the great French Army to whom we owe the liberty of the world more than to any other army—that army of four millions of men. In that army of double the size of the A. E. F. all of the Y. M. C. A. work has from the beginning been financed by America and many of the leaders for this ever-expanding ministry of practical helpfulness have come from America. When I was over there in the autumn of 1914, before we had a War Work Council, I left \$2500 in the hands of a Frenchman and said, "Get an opportunity for the American Y. M. C. A. to serve the French Army." He tried in vain for months. After failing with the War Ministry, he finally got permission from one French General to open up what they called the Foyer du Soldat, or to use the full title, Foyer du Soldat Franco-Americaine Y. M. C. A. This general said, "Try it out in one place." The experiment was so successful that he then permitted them to spread it throughout his entire army. Then the general of the neighboring division wanted it; then the general on the other side; and then others, until it spread rapidly through a large part of the army. When I was over there last April, Clemenceau, in speaking to me of the seven or eight hundred foyers already established, said that they had been one of the principal factors in maintaining the morale of the French Army.

Some weeks after that we received in America the cablegram stating that in the Verdun fortress the one thousandth foyer had been dedicated. The French War Ministry, which at first had turned a deaf ear to this work, sent a deputation

to New York and laid before the National War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A. the request of the French Government that we spread our work to two thousand points, thus making possible covering the entire French army. You do not deceive the French. Face to face with what the Association was doing in our own army and recognizing its real merit, they said, "We want to entrust this great enterprise of serving our troops to the American Y. M. C. A." The other day at our last meeting at the Biltmore Hotel, some of you were present, and heard that splendid telegram from Mr. de Billy of the French High Commission in Washington. I do not see how he could have spoken more generously or more intelligently of what we have been doing than he did in that message.

Nor have you heard, I venture to say, a well authenticated criticism concerning what the American Y. M. C. A. has done for the four or five millions of prisoners of war. The American people should be reminded that the American Y. M. C. A. alone has been permitted to serve the prisoners of war on both sides of the struggle from almost the beginning of the war. I know I am well within bounds when I say that this agency was the means directly and indirectly of saving the lives of tens of thousands of prisoners; and the sanity of thousands more; and its spiritual ministry was literally life from the dead for multitudes. It is one of the most fascinating and wonderful chapters in the entire history of war service. "I was in prison and ye came unto me," was one of Christ's supreme tests of men.

We now come to the A. E. F. and if there is any part of this work of which I am more proud than of another it is the work of the American Y. M. C. A. in the A. E. F. You have heard some criticisms of it. I want to tell you some things now that you have not heard criticized.

You have not heard anybody, enemy or friend, criticize the fact that the Y. M. C. A. have had in operation in the A. E. F. fifteen hundred huts, rented buildings and tents, the free use of which is given to every man in the American or allied uniform. Last winter men did not criticize the fact that we paid between \$60 and \$70 a ton for coal in order that in hundreds of villages and other places where our men were billeted there might be one place, and often it was the only place during those bitterly cold days and nights, where our boys who had been drilling on the sodden ground and had wet feet or in the drifting sleet and rain and had wet clothing could come to dry themselves and get some warmth, and also have light, where they could write their home letters and read the magazines. You have not heard that criticized. If you did, you know what you thought of the thoughtless ingratitude which prompted it.

How many within your hearing have criticized the fact that we have sent overseas hundreds of athletic directors above draft age and that we have already spent between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000 on athletic supplies for the free use of American soldiers and sailors that, as Mr. Perkins put it, the men, as they come from the strain of trench life or out of the awful scenes of warfare, might through recreational sports have a chance to change their minds, and that the men in the midst of the tedium of camp life might revive their tired spirits.

Have you heard criticism concerning the fact that we are maintaining overseas one hundred entertainment troupes selected by some of the leading members of the theatrical profession and that their entertainments are provided free for the A. E. F. in France and England?

Have men complained to you (they used to do so over a year ago before we had the service well organized) that we are showing over 4,000,000 feet of films each month in our Y. M. C. A. huts and tents to a nightly attendance of nearly 300,000?

Have men complained in your hearing of the hundreds of thousands of dollars that we have spent in free musical instruments and in sending musicians and musical companies? Included in their number is the daughter of the President to whom I would pay a tribute for her democracy and her splendid spirit of service.

Who has complained to you about our giving away over 10,000,000 sheets of

writing paper each week and the envelopes? Some did complain about the poor quality of the paper, but they forgot that we were then under government restriction with reference to the use of paper.

Have men found fault with the fact that we have supplied each year hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of American magazines and other periodicals free of cost to the men?

Have you heard any people criticize the fact that we have sent over some of the most distinguished, brilliant, and popular lecturers to the men—and the number of those lecturers is increasing—that they may help the soldiers to become re-oriented and readjusted to the new demands of their own country to which they are so soon to return?

Have men complained to you that we have afforded facilities for the fellows who had to leave high school, college, and night school to take up their studies and that they may thus come home more highly efficient and better prepared to cope with their problems in the days of keen competition that lie ahead?

Have men complained that we have just ordered about \$2,000,000 worth of text books and school materials that are to be given away absolutely free to the soldiers, and that the American Library Association has joined hands with us and have said they will give a million dollars for books of reference that the men could carry on their private studies or class work? A message has reached us indicating that the government itself may reimburse the Y. M. C. A. and the Library Association for what they are expending for these quantities of books.

Have men complained to you about the plan we are now carrying out of sending over the leading preachers of the United States of America? I use that word advisedly, it is a wonderful list. I make bold to say that in all history helpful messages will never have been preached with greater adequacy and power to bodies of men of any nation than with the A. E. F. this season.

Have men complained to you that we obeyed Pershing when he said "I want the American Y. M. C. A. to take charge of the leave resorts?" First at Aix-les-Bains, then seven or eight others, now the number has passed a dozen and I heard recently they want us to take four more. If you have heard people complain let them come to my office and see the letters that have been written by the soldiers to our women canteen workers and our men secretaries to the effect that they had been given the best vacation of their lives there in the midst of inspiring and uplifting associations.

Have men complained to you that we change their money at more favorable rates than others do? Has there been objection that we have sent free of cost from the boys themselves to the members of their families over 275,000 remittances aggregating over \$16,000,000? Nearly two thousand of those 275,000 remittances have not yet been delivered. The other day in New York I heard the reason why one had not yet reached its destination. We had tried several avenues, at last we learned that all six members of the family had been blotted out by the influenza. With the help of the postmasters and other agencies we are hoping that the comparatively small number of undelivered remittances may ultimately reach their true destinations.

Have men complained in your hearing that for months and up to within a week the only worker on any transport was a Y. M. C. A. worker? Now there is an arrangement by which the Morale Division of the War Department takes charge of the welfare service on transports and the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board and the Red Cross unite in manning adequately the great transports and so far as possible the smaller ones.

Do men complain that the hundreds of American city Young Men's Christian Associations in league with our work over there in the A. E. F. give regular membership privileges free for at least three months to all men in uniform, and that in addition to all this we have made one of the major points of our policy the helping of men in the matter of re-employment? It is said that the employment bureaus of the Association are the most effective of all agencies for this

purpose because of their many years of successful experience in rendering this particular kind of service.

Now I come to some things concerning which there has been complaint. As I do so, I ask you in view of all that I have just stated in barest outline, Is it fair that the attention of the American people should be riveted on what is relatively but a very small fraction, to the exclusion of this great volume of unselfish, patriotic service that makes up the vast, vast majority of the activities and the constructive work of the Y. M. C. A. overseas as well as at home? You say, "Certainly not!" And the American people when they understand will say "Certainly not!" They will not be hoodwinked. Their sense of justice and fair play may be absolutely depended upon. The Y. M. C. A. has its mistakes and limitations in common with all human organizations. The criticisms that have come to us have been chiefly with reference to the canteen. It is not necessary that I remind this particular company that Pershing was glad to have the Y. M. C. A. take charge of the canteen in order, as he said, that there might be released for combat that many more fighting men. By having our women workers and our men above draft age take on this service the desired end was accomplished. He well knew as we do what a thankless task it is, made especially so by an impossible situation, namely, that the Government in those days did not buy or ship supplies for us, although we earnestly desired to have them do so. I went to the Government myself and said, "We are in an impossible position. You still have Quartermaster's Stores in the Army that as a rule can buy goods lower than any other organization can buy them in this country and you do not have to pay tonnage or insurance charges as we do. You have these Stores in the army, and now you encourage us to conduct the canteen or post exchange and we have to pay higher prices for the goods, we have to pay shipping and insurance charges and overhead expenses that do not enter into your Quartermaster's charges. It looks to me," I said, "as though we must either hand this back or else we have got to have matters equalized." The Government agreed with me. It took a long time to bring about the desired change but I am glad to say that at last we have the arrangement by which we now buy our canteen supplies from the Quartermaster and by which he fixes the prices. So we have the same prices as the Quartermaster Stores. Therefore, the criticism that we sell at higher prices than the Government ought to be counted as a matter of the past.

Growing out of the complaint that the Y. M. C. A. had charged higher prices in its canteens than had to be paid at the Quartermaster's Stores, for reasons which have just been stated but which apparently were at times not understood by the men, is the charge that the Association has been profiteering. This charge has been investigated on two occasions by the War Department, and each time it pronounced the charge to be groundless. Were all the expenses charged against the canteen which properly should be charged against it, such as the salaries of the thousands of men and women canteen workers, it would be seen that the canteen has been operated at a loss. Even had there been a profit or should there later be any profit, there has been an agreement with General Pershing from the beginning, which is stated in one of his General Orders and which is clearly understood by all concerned, that such profit is to be expended by the Association in connection with the various services which it is rendering the soldiers through its countless recreational, social, educational and other activities. The Association has not only operated the canteen at a loss, but has also given away millions of dollars' worth of free supplies in its front line trench work, or while the men were going into action or coming out of action or under other circumstances of special strain. Apart from the most generous provision made by the Red Cross for soldiers and sailors in transit, I know of no agency which has expended so much money on free supplies. It will be interesting to point out that, contrary to the popular impression, a uniform policy is being worked out by the various welfare agencies overseas with reference to the giving away of supplies.

The criticism that the Y. M. C. A. sold gift tobacco and certain other gift articles has been explained so many times to the satisfaction of all who have looked into the matter that it is not necessary to reiterate the explanation. The *New York Sun*, which no one would call a special pleader, made its own independent investigation of this complaint and completely exonerated the Y. M. C. A. Its statement can be examined by anyone in the leaflet entitled "Criticisms and Answers" to be obtained of the Y. M. C. A. at 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

Complaints have been made with reference to certain members of the personnel of the Y. M. C. A., as to lapses in character, as to inefficiency, and as to wrong manners, attitude and spirit. Wherever such charges have been made with sufficient definiteness to make it possible to deal with them they have been investigated promptly and any necessary action has been taken with equal promptness. The Y. M. C. A. could surely have no object in overlooking such complaints, for its one desire is to make its service of the Army and Navy as efficient as possible. It is an impressive fact that among all the criticisms of this kind which have been made in this period of criticism, charges thus far have been made against only between thirty and forty different persons, and all of these have by no means been substantiated. This is a remarkable showing when it is recalled that the Y. M. C. A. now has a staff of nearly twelve thousand men and women, the large majority of whom are overseas—a staff numbering possibly over seven times as many as the combined staffs of the other welfare agencies working at the same points and in the same areas.

Some have made criticisms with reference to the administration. It would be strange were this not the case. The Association was called upon suddenly to deal with a vast situation involving many new and difficult conditions and, owing to the Draft Law, necessitating the use of a vast number of untrained workers. The wonder of people most familiar with the facts is that the administration has proved to be as efficient as it is. Nevertheless, we have not been unmindful of its weaknesses and shortcomings, and you will be glad to know that valuable constructive measures have been taken to strengthen the administration both at home and overseas. For example, in France, we have recently sent some of the ablest members of the War Work Council to have immediate supervision of the work and workers. When I state that such men as George W. Perkins and Mortimer L. Schiff are members of this Committee, it will give instant confidence.

Again and again the complaint is made that the Y. M. C. A. does not help the wounded. Those who voice this complaint are evidently ignorant of the understanding entered into between the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A. by which the Red Cross are regarded as responsible for serving the sick and the wounded in the hospital areas. The Y. M. C. A. is not at liberty to work in these areas, save on the invitation of the Red Cross.

Now and then one still hears the complaint that the Y. M. C. A. did not work at the front and in the real danger zones. The facts, however, as reported by the military authorities and others in touch with the situation have shown how absolutely untrue is such a charge. Only the other day it was pointed out that ten Y. M. C. A. workers in France were killed by shell-fire or by gas, at least forty others were seriously gassed or wounded, thirty-nine more died as a result of wounds or accidents or as a result of disease occasioned by exposure or overwork in front line service, and that many had been cited or decorated for special bravery in their work in most dangerous positions. During the fighting in the Argonne, seven hundred Y. M. C. A. workers, fifty of whom were women canteen workers, were attached to the different fighting units, with which they remained in the danger zone and frequently under shell-fire. There were also over two hundred helping the men under similar conditions in the Chateau-Thierry and St. Mihiel drives.

The attitude of the Y. M. C. A. with reference to criticisms is to welcome all honest and constructive criticisms, no matter from what quarter. We judge

of the honesty of critics in two ways: first, Is the person who makes the criticism ready to give us the name, date and place? He should at least be willing to do so in strict confidence. I need not add that we carefully guard any such confidence, but it is impossible to deal adequately with criticisms unless the critic is willing to be thus definite. If he is unwilling to afford you a handle of which you can take hold, is it unfair to assume that there is something ulterior or unfair behind his criticism? The second way by which we judge the honesty of a critic is his attitude and action after he has shared with you the information on which his criticism is based. If, after he has given you the definite facts and his best personal advice and you have assured him that you will give the matter prompt and thorough attention, he goes behind your back and continues to knock and to spread distrust, you can make up your mind that he is not playing the game and that there is something sinister back of it all.

Our request of all sincere critics, and by that I mean all those who really desire to have the grounds of criticism removed for the good of the service on behalf of the men in the Army and Navy, is four-fold: in the first place, be definite. Secondly, be constructive. No critic should be content with dealing simply in negatives. If he is a true patriot, he surely desires to have every American institution become stronger and more efficient. Thirdly, play the game; that is, when assurance has been given that the complaint will be investigated and that it will be dealt with conscientiously, give the organization the benefit of the doubt. Fourthly, let him tell all of the good things he knows about the Association. A lady was talking with a wounded soldier in a hospital the other day, and in answer to her question about the Y. M. C. A. he replied, "It is no good. It is a bunch of grafters." She asked him to give his proofs and she jotted down in writing what he had to say. After he had told all the unfavorable facts which he had to give regarding the Association she asked, "Is there any good thing about the Y. M. C. A. work overseas which you can mention?"

He was puzzled a little at first, and then said (and, I repeat, he had called the Association workers "a bunch of grafters"), "Yes. In that port where I spent so much time they gave us the best meals at the lowest prices we had anywhere."

She inquired, "Was there anything else good about the Y. M. C. A.?"

"Yes. They changed my money there at satisfactory rates. We fellows had been greatly fleeced by others before."

"Was there anything else?" she pressed.

"Yes. The Y. M. C. A. had the place where we fellows used to meet; it was a bright, warm place, in fact the only place of that kind open to us. No, no, let me correct myself. I belong to the Army, but I will say that the Y. M. C. A. did a great thing for the Navy in that town. They had just dedicated a Navy Hut, one of the finest I had seen anywhere in France, and it was awfully popular with the men of the Navy."

"Did you see anything else good?"

"Yes. They had the American magazines and writing paper and other things that the men wanted."

"Were all these things supplied free?"

"Yes. I don't remember that they charged us for any of them. By the way," he continued, "do you know that great preacher to young men?" He could not tell the name and she could not make out from his remarks who it was, but I have learned since that it was Dr. Truett, of Texas, one of the greatest preachers to men in the United States. "I am not much on religion, but that man got me and got me on the day I ought to be got." And so he went on, she told me, until before he finished he had mentioned a dozen or more things in praise of the Y. M. C. A., in contrast with the two or three minor matters to which he had called attention at the beginning of the conversation.

We do not expect to escape criticism. One day our Chief Secretary in France

went to General Pershing, when there were quite a number of criticisms because we were not getting supplies overseas fast enough and were not getting them up to the front as quickly as desired, for the simple reason that the Government itself could not give us the necessary tonnage owing to military necessities and that they had been obliged to take over a number of our motor trucks for pressing military needs, and said to the General, "We are having many criticisms, General." Pershing replied, "The Y. M. C. A. are not in this to avoid criticism, are they, but to render as much service as possible to the men under the limitations under which we are all working in this war." To my mind, that sentence puts the whole business in a nut-shell. It would be difficult, I fancy impossible, to mention an organization or to name a Department of our own Government or of any other Government which has not during the War and during the post-war period had its shortcomings, weaknesses and grounds for complaint. In the long run, no organization and no individual will suffer from criticism, provided it has the right attitude toward criticism, and that attitude, I need not point out again, is to welcome all honest, constructive criticism and to deal as promptly and thoroughly as possible with it at its sources. Lincoln was criticised right up to the time of his death. At one time a friend came to him and said that Stanton, one of the strongest members of his Cabinet, had spoken about him as "that stupid old fool." When the friend reported this to Lincoln, Lincoln replied, "Stanton is a level-headed man. There must be something in his charge. I will speak to him about it." Jesus Christ was criticised all through His public ministry. You will remember how His good was evil spoken of and how His enemies traced the greatest things He wrought to an evil spirit. May we, like Him, meet such charges with humility, unselfishness and courage. Then we can be trusted with larger things. If men lose their desire to profit by experience and to improve; if they lose their confidence in the truth and its ability to prevail no matter what may be done to cloud the issues; if they lose their genuine optimism, then they suffer; but if, on the other hand, they meet their criticisms with open and responsive minds and deal with them positively, constructively and hopefully, they and the cause they represent will come forth stronger and more serviceable than ever.





## LETTER FROM JOHN R. MOTT

347 Madison Ave., New York.  
February 12, 1919.

To the Leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association,

Dear Friends:

It has occurred to me that you might be interested in an address on our War Work which I gave last Saturday in Carnegie Hall under the auspices of the League for Political Education. In this address a copy of which is enclosed, I have tried to do what is just now very much needed, namely, to fix the attention on that great volume of war work which is not being criticized rather than to let men's minds be diverted to what after all constitutes relatively but a very small fraction of this service.

You will also be interested in some of the measures which are being employed by the War Work Council and by Association leaders in general to meet the current criticisms. One of my War Work Associates, Mr. A. G. Knebel, and some other trusted workers are devoting themselves to dealing in a constructive way with all complaints which are brought to our attention. A number of pamphlets and leaflets treating various phases of the subject have been prepared by different men who have had experience overseas or who are otherwise qualified for handling the matter. Some of these, for example, the statement of Mr. Crossett of Boston, based on his two trips to the Western front, and the one by myself entitled "Criticisms and Answers," have been circulated by the hundreds of thousands of copies. A number of others are in preparation. Besides those which are issued at our national headquarters a number of convincing articles have appeared in other parts of the country and have had a most helpful influence, for example, the articles or leaflets giving first-hand impressions and experiences by Mr. Edward Bok of Philadelphia, Mr. Harbison of Pittsburgh, Mr. Osgood of Chicago, Mr. Couper of Minneapolis, Mr. Sweet of Denver, Mr. Paige of Houston, and Mr. McNary of El Paso. Local Associations, such as Chicago and Buffalo, have also issued effective pamphlets. The General Secretary of the Association at Orange, New Jersey, made a fine stroke in bringing out an attractive leaflet containing unsolicited testimonials about the value of the Association work overseas taken from letters to their own families from the boys who had gone from that town into the Army and Navy. The publicity work has been improved so that in most, not all, parts of the country the war work is receiving more prominent attention in both the secular and religious press. Our friends in certain communities are cautioning us against letting our work be over press-agented, although there are other places where the opposite is the danger. A list of speakers—secretaries, clergymen, sol-

diers and business men who have seen the work overseas—is constantly growing and these men are being used increasingly and with splendid results. Before long we hope to have available in every state one or more men or teams qualified to speak on the war program and to meet with first-hand knowledge all reasonable criticism. Special steps have been taken to improve the service rendered on transports, at ports of debarkation and on troop trains. We are also trying to put our best foot forward in the hospital areas. More attention will be given to secretaries returning from service overseas in order that the grounds for complaint which any of them have may receive conscientious attention and in order that their valuable cooperation may be promptly enlisted. Reasonable ground for criticism about the canteen has been largely removed and we hope soon to be able to make a further important announcement on this subject.

It is important also that you should know that we are giving our best thought to improving in every possible way the administration of the war work at home and overseas. Great vigilance is constantly exercised with reference to ensuring the best possible use of the war fund. Matters of personnel are receiving special attention—certain men weeded out and an effort made to send overseas more men of ripe Association experience. We are also drawing on the Army over there for hundreds of the best men. At no stage of the war work have we enlisted so many of the ablest ministers, professors, recreational sport leaders and entertainers, and as a result of all this there should soon be manifest a marked scaling up in the efficiency of the activities program. The supervision has been strengthened not only in New York but also overseas. The plan has been adopted of giving Mr. Carter two Associates, one to have entire charge of the activities program and the other of the finances or business side of the work. Moreover, the Executive Committee have delegated to a group of their number now overseas the general oversight or supervision of all the work in France. It is my own plan to go to Europe in the near future to give immediate attention to certain large questions of policy.

As a result of these and other steps which have been taken there are already unmistakable signs of encouragement in most parts of the country. In the first place, the responsible members and executive officers of the local, state and national boards and committees of the Association Movement are coming to see matters in their true light and proportions and to find that the grounds of confidence in the marvelous record and in the providential character and destiny of the war work of the Association are not shaken. The Protestant clergy with a comparatively few significant exceptions have seen the situation with remarkably clear insight and have rung true on the vital issues involved. The religious press, almost without exception, have from the very beginning been intelligently sympathetic and have not hesitated to make it known. Nearly all of those stable elements in our constituency on whom we have depended and to whom we are so deeply indebted have in the midst of all the storm kept on a very even keel and

may be relied upon for the coming days. The critical strain has revealed as never before just who are the deep-rooted friends of our work.

In answer to the question which is being asked by not a few as to what our attitude should be in the present situation, I venture to suggest the following:

(1) Let us frankly admit that ours is a human organization and that, therefore, in this war work to which we were so suddenly called we have had shortcomings and that mistakes have been made. Like other welfare societies in the war, and, in fact, like many departments of the Army and of the Government itself, we have had to deal with a vast undertaking, under difficult and untried conditions. A large majority of our workers were absolutely inexperienced (for our war work staff today is nearly three times as great as our entire Association staff at the beginning of the war), and, therefore, our experience has been like that of all agencies which have had to meet this, the world's greatest emergency.

(2) Let us welcome all honest, constructive criticism. No organization and no individual ever suffered from that kind of criticism, if considered with open mind. But we have a right to insist that the critics be definite. Assure them that you will deal with the matter promptly, provided they afford you the information essential to the location and removal of reasonable grounds for complaint.

(3) Let each Association worker assume personal responsibility. The current criticisms have been so widely spread throughout the country that they cannot be met and removed by national headquarters only, but require the cooperative effort of all of us. Happily we have a nation-wide organization which is able to reach to the remotest corner of the land.

(4) This is a unique opportunity to conduct in each community, large and small, an educational campaign to acquaint the Association constituency and others with the entire program of the movement, including its war work. In this way the current criticisms can be met most effectively. From pamphlets and articles issued elsewhere reprint such facts as are adapted to the needs of the particular community. In almost every town or city are men who have large influence and who are more or less acquainted with the war work. Letters or articles should be secured from them for the local papers.

(5) We should adopt a positive, aggressive course. An army on the defensive is already defeated. There are those who would like to manoeuvre us into a defensive position. Therefore persist in fixing attention on the vast, vast area of our war work at home and overseas which is not under fire. Demand evidence of each critic and do not let him off with general, vague, sweeping or hearsay charges. Let us as individuals and as Associations lay ourselves out as never before in positive, unselfish service for the returning soldiers and sailors, regardless of complaints and ingratitude. Love and kindness ultimately, and often very soon, win out. Launch

forward movements in the regular Association work. Good illustrations of this are the recent splendid campaigns for increased membership in Buffalo, Rochester, Hartford and Davenport. Throw yourselves into the really masterly advance program of the Foreign Department, which has just been projected.

(6) We should recognize the present situation as both a test and an opportunity for true leadership. Before we are through with our difficulties it will be revealed who the real leaders are. Here and there is a man who is in serious danger of limiting or even forfeiting his leadership. What are leaders for and when are they needed? Not alone or chiefly for days when all is well and when the cause is most popular, but rather when there are real problems and weaknesses to be dealt with, when many have missed the way and are perplexed, when subtle, sinister influences are at work and when men yield to discouragement and pessimism.

(7) We, to the last man in the Brotherhood, should stand together and, as Moffat so well expresses it, "be always eager to believe the best" of each other and back each other to the limit. This will spread over our entire Movement an atmosphere of quiet confidence which means victory. While it is best not to mention it publicly, we should not disguise from ourselves the fact that there are those who do not want the Young Men's Christian Association to emerge from this war time with added prestige and who would like nothing better than to spread distrust, impatience and lack of cooperation among us; but if we stand together nothing can stand against us. We should likewise resist the temptation to which some might thoughtlessly yield, of regarding any other organization with suspicion. Rather let us discourage unfounded charges, rumors, and insinuations—thus doing unto others as we would have them do unto us.

(8) Let us give ourselves to prayer that light may dispel darkness, that faith may conquer distrust, that good may vanquish ill, that stumbling blocks may be turned into stepping stones, and that, as a result of all of us working together positively, constructively, hopefully, believingly, our Movement may come forth from this testing time purer, stronger and more serviceable than ever.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN R. MOTT.

*Supplement to The League Bulletin for February 22, 1919*

CONSTITUTION  
of the  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Text of the Plan Presented  
to the Peace Conference at Paris

and the Addresses Delivered Before the Conference by

PRESIDENT WILSON  
M. LEON BOURGEOIS  
LORD ROBERT CECIL  
PREMIER ORLANDO

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WILLIAM H. TAFT, *President*



# The League of Nations Plan

The Constitution for a League of Nations as proposed at the Paris Peace Conference by the Commission of which President Wilson is chairman is reprinted by the League to Enforce Peace together with the addresses given in exposition by commissioners of the great powers that joined in formulating it. The text of the Constitution which President Wilson presented to the Conference is the unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania and Serbia.

These documents are published by the League to Enforce Peace in order that, in this convenient form, they may be studied carefully by that wide circle of men and women who may be called upon to play a decisive part in the education and expression of American opinion now that the issue is squarely joined in view of the necessary ratification of the Treaty in the Senate.

## C O V E N A N T

### PREAMBLE

In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized people with one another, the powers signatory to this covenant adopt this constitution of the League of Nations:

### ARTICLE I.

The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.



## ARTICLE II.

Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League, or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

## ARTICLE III.

The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States, representatives of ——— shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any power to attend a meeting of the council, at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such powers unless so invited.

## ARTICLE IV.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council, and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

## ARTICLE V.

The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at ———, which shall constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council. The secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League, in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

#### ARTICLE VI.

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League, when engaged in the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall enjoy the benefits of extra-territoriality.

#### ARTICLE VII.

Admission to the League of States, not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No State shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

## ARTICLE IX.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII. and on military and naval questions generally.

## ARTICLE X.

The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

## ARTICLE XI.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstance affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

## ARTICLE XII.

The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

## ARTICLE XIII.

The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them, which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall

be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognized as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

#### ARTICLE XV.

If there should arise between States, members of the League, any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published, indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council, other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements, indicating what they believe to be the facts, and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the body of delegates, all the provisions of this article, and of Article XII., relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council, shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

## ARTICLE XVI.

Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII. it shall thereby ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The high contracting parties agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

## ARTICLE XVII.

In the event of disputes between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States, not members of the League, shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given, the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of the League, which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a breach of Article XII., the provisions of Article XVI. shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

## ARTICLE XVIII.

The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

## ARTICLE XIX.

To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities, formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire, have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of the population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory State and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory States as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory State shall render to the

League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the mandatory State, shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

## ARTICLE XX.

The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a permanent bureau of labor.

## ARTICLE XXI.

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

## ARTICLE XXII.

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the League.

## ARTICLE XXIII.

The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

## ARTICLE XXIV.

It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

## ARTICLE XXV.

The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagement inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

## ARTICLE XXVI.

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

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## SPEECH OF PRESIDENT WILSON

Mr. Chairman: I have the honor and assume it a very great privilege of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this conference on the formulation of a plan for the league of nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania and Serbia.

I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document as the only report we have to make.

[President Wilson then read the draft. When he reached Article XV. and had read through the second paragraph the President paused and said:]

I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read—"if any party shall refuse to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations."

A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: Suppose there is in the possession of a particular power a piece of territory, or some other substantial thing, in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the executive council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject matter in dispute.

Then, if the party in possession of the subject matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the



council, in the sense that it makes no resistance, but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject matter in dispute.

In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the executive council may then consider what steps will be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has been given to comply with the decisions of the council.

After having read Article XIX., President Wilson again stopped and said:

Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

After having read the entire document President Wilson continued as follows:

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment, with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking.

Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiments, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do, which was heartening throughout every meeting.

Because we felt that in a way this conference did intrust to us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty, that the co-operation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations.

The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

## UNION OF WILLS IN A COMMON PURPOSE

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those powers which for convenience we have called the great powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a league of nations—a body of delegates, an executive council and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates, we are aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world.

Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the league of nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various governments the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes, which preoccupied officials had admittedly made, might not be repeated.

It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent as we sit around this table more than twelve hundred million people.

You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time not only, but it may (originate) the choice of its several representatives. (Wireless here unintelligible.)

Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion. I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations. And that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings or anything that may lead to friction or trouble is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the executive council; it can upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the executive council on the larger form of the general body of delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity, so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

## ARMED FORCE IN THE BACKGROUND

Armed force is in the background in this programme, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league for war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which this league would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straightjacket, but a vehicle of life.

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for cooperation in any international matter.

That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the bureau of labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the maneuvers of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and of finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not—people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined governments of the world. This is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the secretary general, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the secretary general to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time.

I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately. How uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the secretary general to publish them.

### NO EXPLOITATION OF HELPLESS PEOPLES.

Then there is a feature about this covenant which, to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some powers to be used merely for exploitation.

We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interests, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great power which has just been, happily, defeated, put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development, that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes, and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now, the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

### PRACTICAL AND HUMAN DOCUMENT.

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it.

It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate, and I want to say that so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great states represented here—so far as I know, all of the great states that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies, whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise.

I think it is an admission, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying: "We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it and this is our covenant of friendship."

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## ADDRESS OF LEON BOURGEOIS.

I rise to express the deep satisfaction of all, and of France more than any other country, because she is among the countries who have most suffered, to see the unity of our wills and of our hearts in a passionate adhesion to the principles of the League of Nations. That act of faith we shall do in a spirit of cordiality and good-will that has been that of the committee. Under the eminent chairmanship of President Wilson the committee has worked with all their hearts to attain this great object.

Lord Robert Cecil has said we now present to the conference and to the world the result of our work, but we do not present it as something that is final, but only as the result of an honest effort to be discussed and to be examined not only by this conference, but the public opinion of the world.

We are unanimous in our opinion that this scheme must be presented to the world, and it resulted from our deliberation. We must preserve the character of unanimity which its note has given it. We still retain our rights when further discussions take place to state more definitely our views on some details.

Signor Orlando has said how difficult it seemed at the beginning to conciliate two apparently contradictory principles—that of the sovereignty of nations and that of the limitations that nations must accept in order to secure the reign of right and justice. That conciliation has taken place without effort, and we have demonstrated movement, as Signor Orlando said, by walking.

We rise to prevent the renewal of a war like that which we have just seen; we rise at the appeal of all those who have fallen to spare their offspring the renewal of such an ordeal. We are persuaded that no war in the future can be limited to a small area.

## RIGHT AND JUSTICE THE BASIS OF SETTLEMENT.

The independence of the different parts and different interests of the world has become such that no conflict can be limited. It is that the whole world may keep itself from danger that we today have ordained that right and justice must be the basis of settlement in all the conferences. In the view of just people there are no small and no great States. All are and all will be equal before the principle of international justice, and in the tribunal that will give the decisions the judges will sit, not as the representatives of one particular nation, but as the representatives of international right.

This is a principle to which we are particularly attached. All the States, in consenting to submit to international justice, take at the same time a definite pledge to guarantee to each other the integrity of their territories as established by the settlement of the present peace treaty, and also to guarantee their political independence against future aggression. This is the object of our scheme. I hope the means which are suggested by it will allow us to attain our object.

We have established a certain number of judicial principles and international organizations binding the States together, binding them to a common work and binding them to the truce without which their common development would be impossible. These organizations, the creation of which is provided for in the last articles of the covenant, are similar to some which have existed already, but which were scattered through various parts of the world and which had never been brought together to form part of the common body of humanity. The foundation is now laid, and we are certain that the organizations will be multiplied and will help humanity more and more to attain its common aims.

We have been unanimous in proclaiming these principles, and we have felt the force of these principles so much that we have no doubt that a strong light will penetrate even into the darkest ports, that the light radiating from those principles will find its way in lands that seem to be the least open to it.

## PRACTICAL GUARANTEE NECESSARY.

But it is not enough to proclaim such great principles. We must organize a system of guarantee and a system of action, both judicial and practical. The plan laid down is a clear and simple one. There is a council where all the States are represented equally, each having only one

vote, and there is an Executive Committee which is constituted on a different principle. But even in this case, where it has been found necessary for purposes of action to give five votes to the larger Powers, the principle of equality has been secured by giving as much as four votes to the smaller States.

Respect for the decision given by that body will be assured by definite rules, the violation of which shall be considered as an act of war against all the contracting States. If one State (it may be the smallest and most remote of all the States) is attacked without justification then the whole of the League of Nations is being attacked, and will resist.

### LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.

But we must go further. In order to secure the execution of international sentences there must be a limitation of armaments. This has been the wish of the world for a great many years. What was formerly so difficult has today become possible. Our victory has made it possible, because it has enabled us to disarm the barbaric force that was in the way of such an improvement.

That limitation must be such that no State can be capable of prevailing against the will of the law of nations, but at the same time each State should be strong enough to contribute to the force that will enable the League of Nations to impose its will. There has been unanimity upon all these points.

There are one or two points upon which I wish particularly to insist, because they are connected with dangers that may be of special moment to some of us, dangers that may arise not equal for all.

### SPECIAL DANGERS FOR SOME NATIONS.

There are special dangers for countries like France, Belgium, Serbia, and the new States that are in the stage of formation in Central Europe. It is necessary to give them special guarantees, and this has been recognized by the committee, when it states that special account should be taken of the geographical situation of, and the mode of application to, each State in the scale of armaments. Where the frontiers are more exposed it must be possible to have stronger systems of defense, and possibly also greater armaments.

This is all right, but there is no doubt that it will put on the shoulders of the nations that happen to be in that difficult position a special burden. It will hamper them in the peaceful competition that is the life of the world.

And here again two practical questions must be put. To give all nations necessary security, the principle of the limitation of armaments must not only be executed but executed very fast. It has been said (and no one has said it more forcefully than President Wilson) that modern war has become a war of material, that in such a war as the one we have just seen, and such as we hope never to see in the future, what has triumphed has been science turned into barbarism.

## CONTROL OF WAR INDUSTRIES.

Now, it is necessary for us to control the war industries all over the world. The nations, who are the contracting parties of the covenant, pledge themselves mutually to communicate to each other full information about their armaments and their means of production. This is a very good plan, with which I am particularly satisfied.

At the same time, I propose an amendment, which I think I ought to mention. I thought it would be necessary to institute a permanent organization for purposes of inspection, and this amendment was not at the moment embodied in the text. We have accepted the text as it is before you, and we now mention that amendment. It is because—as the whole scheme is going to be discussed by the world—it is better that all the points that have given occasion for important observations should be mentioned.

## INTERNATIONAL FORCE URGENT.

Here is a second point. Take a State that violates the international covenant. That State is supposed to be in a state of war against all the members of the League, and all are prepared to compel it to execute its obligations. But war is not something that can proceed at once, especially when the question is how to bring together forces belonging to States which are very different from each other and may be at the four corners of the world. Each nation will have to wait in order to act until a certain procedure is gone through and until for each particular nation a vote has been taken by its Parliament—and so on. This means time and delay.

And, supposing that there is on the part of the aggressor a will to precipitate a situation, then we must provide for the possibility. For this purpose it would be desirable to have all the means of resistance studied and concerted action prepared before the occasion arises. This would be the best check against any ill design.

If the would-be aggressor knows that resistance is fully prepared against any action such as he contemplated then he will be restrained. Where, on the other hand, he knows that no such preparation exists and that sudden action on his part would encounter no prepared and well thought out resistance, perhaps he would not be restrained and it would be extremely dangerous.

If you do not wish to see the terrible ordeal through which the world has passed renewed in the future, we ought to have a permanent organization to prepare the military and naval means of execution and make them ready in case of emergency.

This has been objected to by some of the members of the committee because it involved some difficult constitutional problems. This is why we have agreed to the text without that amendment, but we think the principle of that proposed amendment ought to be put before public opinion at the same time as the scheme to which we have agreed.

I hope that no one, either here or anywhere in the world, will be mistaken about my intention. I will not say, and I have not said, a word that could weaken the feeling of our complete and hearty unanimity. We have acted with one heart for the triumph of the cause, which is



that of our conference, the cause of right against violence, the cause of right against might.

We believe that this scheme that is now before us is an excellent one. We believe in its virtues and its possibilities. The observations we have made on some points will, we hope, be of some value in the further discussions, since we are at the beginning of the examination of the whole plan.

Now we must, at the end, express our deep gratitude toward our colleagues, and our deep gratitude toward President Wilson, who presided over our labors in such a competent way and with such high spirit, and we wish still more to express the sincere wish of France to see that the great pact becomes, possibly with some improvement on the two points I have mentioned, the law of nations.

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## ADDRESS OF LORD ROBERT CECIL.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I rejoice very much that the course which has been taken this afternoon has been pursued. It seems to me a good omen for the great project in which we are engaged that before its final completion it should have been published to the world and laid before all its people for their service and for their criticism. The President spoke of the spirit which animated the commission over which he presided with such distinction. I gladly bear my testimony to the complete accuracy, both in letter and in spirit, of everything which he has said about it.

It was, indeed, a pleasure to serve with such colleagues, and but for the common purpose and the common devotion to that purpose, it would have been impossible for us to have accomplished the task set before us within the time which was given to it. For, after all, the problem which we were engaged in solving was one of great difficulty. As I see it, it was to devise some really effective means of preserving the peace of the world consistent with the least possible interference with national sovereignty.

### IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES ESTABLISHED.

You have heard the covenant and it is unnecessary for me to dwell on its details. We have sought to safeguard the peace of the world by establishing certain principles. The first and chiefest of them is that no nation shall go to war with any other nation until every other possible means of settling the disputes shall have been fully and fairly tried.

Secondly, we lay down that under no circumstances shall any nation seek forcibly to disturb the territorial settlement to be arrived at as the consequence of this peace or interfere with the political independence of any of the States in the world. These are the two great precepts which we seek to lay down for the government of international relations.

And we have recognized that if these principles are really to be acted upon we must go one step further and lay it down that no nation must retain armament on a scale fitted only for aggressive purposes. I do not doubt that the working out of that principle will be difficult, but it is laid down clearly in this document, and the organs of the League are intrusted

with the duty of producing for the consideration and support of the world a workable scheme for carrying it into effect.

And, finally, we have thought that if the world is to be at peace it is not enough to forbid war. We must do something more than that. We must try and substitute for the principle of international competition that of international cooperation, and you will find at the end of this document a number of clauses, which point out the various respects in which the world can better discharge its duties by the cooperation of each nation for purposes which are beneficial to the whole of them. They are the examples of what may be done. There are many omissions.

### QUESTIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

There is one clause which points out that in future international cooperation shall be made subject to and connected with the League of Nations. Certainly I should hope that there are such questions as the opium trade, the white slave traffic, and, in another order of ideas, the regulation of the arteries of the air, which, besides those mentioned in this document, call earnestly for effective international cooperation. Certain it is that if we can once get the nations of the world into the habit of cooperating with one another, you will have struck a great blow at the source or origin of almost all the world wars which have defaced the history of the world.

Those, I believe, are the principles on which we have relied for the safeguarding of Peace.

And as to national sovereignty, we have thought, in the first place, that the League should not in any respect interfere with the international liberties of any nation. I do not regard the clause which deals with labor as any such interference, for it is quite certain that no real progress in ameliorating the conditions of labor can be hoped for except by international agreement. Therefore, although the conditions of labor in a country are a matter of internal concern, yet, under the conditions under which we now live that is not so in truth, and bad conditions of labor in one country operate with fatal effect in depressing conditions of labor in another.

### NO FEAR OF OPPRESSION FROM LEAGUE.

Secondly, we have laid down (and this is the great principle of the delegates except in very special cases and for very special reasons which are set out in the covenant) that all action must be unanimously agreed to in accordance with the general rule that governs international relations. That this will to some extent, in appearance at any rate, militate against the rapidity of action of the organs of the League is undoubted. In my judgment that defect is far more than compensated by the confidence that it will inspire that no nation, whether small or great, need fear oppression from the organs of the League.

Gentlemen, I have little more say. The President has pointed out that the frame of the organization suggested is very simple. He has alluded to some respects in which some may think it might have been more elaborate, but I agree with him that simplicity is the essence of our

plan. We are not seeking to produce for the world a building finished and complete in all respects. To have attempted such a thing would have been an arrogant piece of folly. All we have tried to do—all we have hoped to do—is to lay soundly and truly the foundations upon which our successors may build. I believe those foundations have been well laid out, and it depends upon those who come after us what will be the character and stability of the building erected upon them.

If it is merely a repetition of the old experiments of alliance, designed for however good a purpose, believe me, gentlemen, our attempt is doomed to failure. It must be a practical thing (and this is the real point), instinct with a genuine attempt to achieve the main objects we have in view.

And if those who build on those foundations really believe that the interest of one is the interest of all and that the prosperity of the world is bound up with the prosperity of each nation that makes it up—that goes to compose the family—then only will the finished structure of the League of Nations be what it ought to be—a safeguard and a glory for the humanity of the world.

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## SPEECH OF PREMIER ORLANDO OF ITALY.

If I have asked to take part in this debate, it is to express my deep satisfaction at having cooperated in the first production of what is going to be one of the great documents of history, and I hope that my present feeling will be fully justified.

We all expect from the discussion and development of the present act a renewal of the whole world, but as the present debate has for its object to bring the whole scheme before the public opinion of the world, I wish to bring to that debate my personal contribution.

I am not going to speak on the general aim of the scheme. This has been formulated by the men who have the highest and noblest right to do it, and I am not here to insist upon the main and fundamental principles. This is what Lord Robert Cecil has done with vigorous lucidity of mind. But I have something to say on the general method upon which our work has been conducted.

## CONCILIATION OF TWO PRINCIPLES.

Our task, gentlemen, was one of incomparable difficulty. We were faced with two absolute principles, the conciliation of which would seem to be logically impossible—on one side the sovereignty of States, admitting of no limitation, and, on the other hand a limit, imposed upon the action of States, so that rights might be conciliated and so that the liberty of States should not include the liberty of doing wrong.

Now, we have been able to conciliate these two principles on the basis of self-constraint. The Governments have recognized that limit, and they will make it effective in each case, as there will be the overwhelming pressure of the public opinion of the world.

I do not forget the possibility that such a scheme has been the object of attacks by skeptics, some of them, according to their temper, in sorrowful tones, others in an ironical mood. I will answer them as the Greek philosopher did, when the reality of movement was denied in his presence, and he answered by rising to his feet and walking.

The possibility of collective international action has been demonstrated by the work of our committee itself, there being eminent statesmen there representing the interests of the most divergent national existences, and they had to face problems which were difficult and puzzling. But even in spite of this we have agreed in a short time and after full discussion, where all the difficulties of solution were shown, and we had an opportunity of seeing which of the solutions was the best and wisest.

We reached our agreement after periods of suspense and reflection. Then we felt that something was growing and ripening, as a grain in the earth, and what has taken place at this time and will take place in the future is but an example of how that idea can work in its reality in a tangible form. If that idea is going to be transformed into a reality it is because of the generous and occult influence of all the blood that has been spilt, of all the terrible bereavement of the whole world.

After great wars in the past men have erected splendid monuments to glorify the fallen heroes, with their names inscribed on the walls. But the greatest monuments of the world, even the pyramids of Egypt, would not be equal, under the present circumstances, where millions of men have died for a cause, to this document.

The pact which has been brought here today is the monument we intend to erect. This document of freedom and right was not born in vain, and it represents the redemption of humanity by sacrifice.



# The League Bulletin

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## TAFT ENDORSES DRAFT

### League Congresses Take on New Significance as Speakers Urge Support of Paris Plan

New vigor has been added to the campaign of the speakers for the League of Nations Congresses by the publication of the Covenant for the League of Nations as presented to the Paris Peace Conference. The Northwest Congress in Portland, February 16 and 17, gave Mr. Taft his first formal opportunity to speak on the draft, to which he gave his hearty support. He is reported to have spoken as follows:

"The constitution as read in Paris by President Wilson is indeed wider in the scope of its purpose than was the platform of our League to Enforce Peace.

"Article X of the Constitution extends our Monroe Doctrine to the world by making it an obligation of the League members to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League.

"The punishment of a universal boycott is a very favorable instrument of repression. We may reasonably hope that this prospect will minimize the temptation to make war and to secure the object of the League.

"This Paris covenant has been made by the five nations who are to prescribe the terms of the treaty of peace. A convention of all the nations would never have agreed on anything as practical as this. This League is growing up as an institution forced by the necessities of the situation.

"In the President's addresses and messages during the war, and since, he has promised to the long harassed peoples of the Allied nations that the United States would press for a League of Nations which should secure permanent peace when this war ended. The nation is thus pledged to the idea of a League of Nations to render peace permanent."

Referring to criticism of the covenant by Senator Poindexter, Mr. Taft said that these sentiments, if uttered during the war, "would have been out of tune with the overflowing spirit of the American people and their determination to win this war and end the possibility of such war in the future."

"Now for the first time," he said, "do we hear the claim that we did not go into this war for the benefit of the world, but for our own selfish purposes."

Speeches from Train

On receiving the announcement from Paris, the speakers made preparations to change their speeches for the Congresses so as to urge support of the plan that the Commission had presented. The first public utterance regarding it was made by Mr. Taft in Helena, Montana, where he spoke before a crowd gathered at the Union Station and is reported to have said: "It is a real League of Nations. It is not all that I wished but comes near. It is a great deal better than I hoped. It contains within its terms provisions for its own growth. There should be no doubt of its approval by the Senate when it is embodied in the treaty. As lovers of your country and as lovers of mankind, I ask you to use all your influence with our Senators and have the treaties embodying the League of Nations idea ratified."

This meeting was one of several that broke up the trip from Minneapolis to Portland, making it a continuous ovation. The first stop was at Bismarck, North Dakota, where 2,000 persons, including many state legislators, gathered around the rear of the train and greeted Mr. Taft most enthusiastically. Former Ambassador Henry Morgenthau also spoke briefly.

On twenty-four hours' notice six thousand persons packed a hall in Spokane for a meeting, February 15. On the first evening in Portland, League speakers addressed audiences aggregating eleven thousand. The main meeting was held in the Auditorium with an attendance of six thousand and there was an overflow meeting of two thousand, indicating the cumulative enthusiasm of the Congresses.

The speakers originally announced for the trip—"the travelling troupe" as Mr. Taft has named it—all appeared in Portland, with the exception of Frank P. Walsh, who was obliged to leave the party at Boston. Local speakers announced were: Henry L. Corbett, Chairman of the local Committee on Organization; Rt. Rev. Walter Taylor Sumner, Bishop of Portland; Judge J. T. Cavanaugh; Dr. Henry Suzzallo, President of the University of Washington; William Short, President of the Washington State Federation of Labor; E. J. Stack, Secretary of the Oregon State Federation of Labor.

The Congress adopted by acclamation a platform urging that a treaty of peace, of which the formation of a League of Nations should be an essential part, be ratified by the Senate of the United States, and that America take its place among the great nations subscribing thereto, not only for the good of the nation, but also for the peaceful welfare of mankind.

Northern Congress Enthusiastic

The reports given of the Northern Congress in Minneapolis indicate the keenest interest in the meetings, even though these were held before the final announcement of the League of Nations plan. The representative audience that packed the Auditorium for the opening session extended to Mr. Taft a greeting such as is given only at rare intervals. Among the local speakers who appeared at the different sessions were Dr. Marion LeRoy Burton, President of the University of Minnesota; Charles W. Ames, President of the West Publishing Company, St. Paul; Hon. John Lind, former Governor of Minnesota; Rt. Rev. James M. Cleary, of the Church of the Incarnation; William

E. McEwen, Editor of *The Labor World* of Duluth; and E. G. Hall, President of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

In every city where a Congress is held, the speakers are called upon to address many gatherings that are eager to take advantage of the opportunity to hear such notable men and, as organizations, hear about the League of Nations plan. The result is that the trip is becoming more strenuous than a whirlwind, political campaign, but all of the party are well and are enjoying themselves. Mr. Taft showed the effects of the strain and lost his voice but regained it after a rest of twenty-four hours.

Among the occasions not mentioned in the regular program of the Northern Congress, when Mr. Taft was called upon to appear, were an open forum luncheon of the St. Paul Association, the annual dinner of the Harvard Club, a gathering of students and faculty of the University of Minnesota, a meeting of the Mu Chapter of Psi Upsilon, and the formal opening of a new Y. M. C. A. building. There were a number of social affairs in Minneapolis, in honor of the speakers, notably a reception at the Woman's Club for Mrs. Philip North Moore, and a reception given by President and Mrs. Marion L. Burton of the University of Minnesota.

### Platform of the Northern Congress

A Statement of Principles adopted by the delegates at Minneapolis was cabled to President Wilson and telegraphed to the Senators of the four states represented in the Congress.

### State Legislatures Interested

Of special interest on the trip have been the invitations to members of the party to address legislatures of the various states. These were instantly accepted and such meetings have been of great importance. Mr. Taft has addressed the legislatures of Minnesota and Montana and Mr. Houston took the trip to Madison to address a Joint Session of the Wisconsin Legislature. He also spoke to 2,000 students of the University of Illinois.

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### COMMENDS LEAGUE DRAFT

#### Proposed Constitution Embodies Basic Principles for Which Supporters of Idea Have Stood

Herbert S. Houston, Chairman of the League's Committee on Information, on his return to Headquarters from attending the first four National Congresses, gave out the following statement which was published in the press:

"The plan commends itself at once to most of the supporters of the League of Nations principle because it has the unanimous approval of the commission of the Peace Conference which prepared it.

"On the commission there were at least four outstanding advocates of a league, President Wilson, Léon Bourgeois, Lord Robert Cecil, and General Smuts. The fact that they concur in the conviction that the plan is the most comprehensive and effective that could be framed will be reassuring, and the plan itself, embodying as it does practically all the basic principles for which the supporters of the league idea have stood, will be broadly satisfying.



"The first words of the preamble place the objects of the league in this sequence: to promote international cooperation and to secure international peace and safety. There is a large, probably a dominant body of opinion in the League to Enforce Peace that has held that international cooperation to do the work which the world needs to have done will result in the creation of agencies, or 'bureaus,' as this plan calls them, which will quickly make the League of Nations a going concern, a vital organism of essential and far-reaching service.

"A league equipped to render such service will command, from the start, attention and respect, and membership in it will be prized by those within and sought by those without. Such a league will be able to apply instantly economic pressure that will be found to have 'teeth' against an offending nation. The skeptics who profess to see in the plan only another futile Hague Convention are sure to be enlightened as to their error, just as those will who see in some of the provisions definite violations of the Constitution of the United States. Strangely enough, some of the skeptics hold to both views, conflicting though they appear to be. But the plan is sincere and strong, although it will undergo undoubtedly certain modifications. Its broad proposals and principles will stand the test of the most searching discussion and become parts of the League of Nations that is to be.

"As to the sentiment of this country favorable to a League of Nations, the League to Enforce Peace is convinced that it is powerful and on the point of becoming irresistible. The people are seeing Ex-President Taft and other conspicuous Republicans strongly supporting President Wilson and they are refusing to believe that this question is other than what it is, a broad American question affecting the future of the world, of which this country must always be a part."

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## PRESIDENT WILSON THANKS LEAGUE

### Cable Message from Paris Acknowledges His Appreciation of Atlantic Congress Platform

On the day when the League of Nations plan was presented in Paris, President Wilson sent to the League to Enforce Peace a cablegram in appreciation of the support of this organization in the cause. This was in acknowledgment of the platform adopted by the Atlantic Congress for a League of Nations, at its meeting in New York City, February 5, which was cabled to Mr. Wilson, declaring that the purposes of the war can be effected only by the creation of a strong League of Free Nations and expressing the belief that the public opinion of the United States stands behind the President in his effort to secure this.

The President's reply was forwarded to Secretary Short in Portland by Charles H. Strong, who is acting as his representative in his absence on the transcontinental tour of the Congresses. The message was as follows:

"Your message from the 3,500 delegates representing the League to Enforce Peace has reached me and has given me just the assurance of support which I desire and which I most value and I beg to express to all concerned my deepest appreciation for such support in the great cause.

WOODROW WILSON."

**NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS**  
**February 5th—March 1st.**

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## APPEAL TO LEAGUE SUPPORTERS

Statement Issued by President Taft and Associates Calls for  
Vigorous Action to Make League a Reality

The war against military autocracy has been won because the great free nations acted together, and its results will be secured only if they continue to act together. The forces making for autocratic rule on the one hand and for the violence of Bolshevism on the other are still at work. In fifty years the small State of Prussia organized Central Europe so as to defy the world. In the present disorganized state of Central and Eastern Europe that can be done again on a still larger scale, and menace all free institutions.

The death of millions of men and the destruction and debt in another world war would turn civilization backward for generations. In such a war we shall certainly be involved, and our best young men will be sacrificed as the French and English have been sacrificed in the last four years.

Such a catastrophe can be prevented only by reconstruction of the small States now seeking self-government on the basis of freedom and justice. But this is impossible without a league; for, divided, its members are not strong enough for the task. Should the victorious nations fail to form a league, German Imperialists would have a clearer field for their designs.

By the abundance of its natural resources, by the number, intelligence and character of its people, the United States has become a world power. It cannot avoid the risks and must assume the responsibilities of its position. It cannot stand aloof, but must face boldly the facts of the day with confidence in itself and its future among the great nations of the earth. United as never before, our people have fought this war. United and above party we must consider the problems of peace, resolved that so far as in us lies war shall no more scourge mankind.

The Covenant reported at the Paris Conference has come since the last election, and the people have had no chance to pass judgment upon it.

In this journey from coast to coast we have looked into the faces of more than 100,000 typical Americans and believe that the great majority of our countrymen desire to take part in such a league as is proposed in that document.

We appeal to our fellow citizens, therefore, to study earnestly this question and express their opinions with a voice so clear and strong that our representatives in Congress may know that the people of the United States are determined to assume their part in this crisis of human history. The alternative to a League of Nations is the heavy burden and the constant temptation of universal armament.

WILLIAM H. TAFT,  
HENRY MORGENTHAU,  
A. LAWRENCE LOWELL,  
HENRY VAN DYKE.

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## CAMPAIGN WHIRLS TOWARD FINISH

### Convention Speakers Find Audiences Eager to Hear Replies to Attack on League

The Senate attacks on the League of Nations plan have greatly stimulated interest in the National Congress. The convention party is now on the return trip from the Coast, holding the concluding sections of the series in St. Louis and Atlanta, and meeting everywhere remarkable demonstrations of enthusiasm.

#### Replies to Senate Attacks

The largest single audience of the tour greeted President Taft at San Francisco, filling the Auditorium to its capacity of ten thousand. Mr. Taft was met at the railroad station by the Mayor and other city officials, an Infantry Regiment and four bands. In one day he delivered four speeches, beginning with breakfast at the Union League Club. He took up particularly the Senate opposition, replying to the open letter addressed to him by Senator Borah. Recognition of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, he showed, is implied in Article X of the Constitution. Regarding the Congressional attacks he is quoted as saying: "The wild words of Representative Foss and Senators Reed and Poindexter, shot out into the air on the theory that the people of this country do not read or that they will accept their bald statements unquestioned, would be humorous if they were not the utterances of such eminent and learned gentlemen." With regard to the so-called argument that the League of Nations plan violates the Constitution, Mr. Taft said: "I revere and worship that great instrument, and it is a new story to me if the Constitution prevents this people from playing their part in bringing peace and order and happiness to ourselves and the other peoples of the world."

The aggregate attendance at the Pacific Coast Congress was thirty thousand. A cable despatch from the Congress was sent to "the people of France," signed by Mr. Taft, as follows: "Our hearts are moved toward you. We pray the life of your great leader may be spared to complete the mighty work he has in hand."

#### Remarkable Meetings in Salt Lake City

The Mountain Congress at Salt Lake City was a tremendous ovation for the League of Nations cause. The aggregate attendance was thirty thousand, which is extraordinary, considering the comparatively

small population of the city and district. At the opening session, Saturday night, an audience of ten thousand greeted Mr. Taft and the other speakers and expressed their support of the work in a most practical way by subscribing the largest amount in proportion to population of any Congress so far, going thirty per cent. above their quota. In his address Mr. Taft sounded an earnest warning against making the League a party issue. With only one dissenting vote, the Congress adopted a resolution expressing their conviction that the League of Nations was the means of guaranteeing that peace, liberty and justice will be established and maintained on an enduring foundation.

The speaking corps was joined at San Francisco by Captain Thomas G. Chamberlain of the First Battalion, Anti-Aircraft Artillery, a recent graduate of the University of California, who saw a year's service at Verdun, Château-Thierry and in Flanders. He made a real sensation with his first speech at Salt Lake City.

### Trip Grows More Strenuous Daily

As the convention tour proceeds, new circumstances develop which make the campaign more strenuous. The program at Salt Lake City was a crowded one, including four luncheons, two dinners and three Congress sessions on Saturday. The trip east, toward St. Louis, was continually interrupted by stops which made possible speeches from the car platform. Mr. Taft made five such speeches crossing Nebraska and three in Iowa. He explained as clearly and as briefly as possible the endorsement that the League gives to the plan before the Peace Conference. In Omaha, he stopped one hour and gave particular emphasis to the seriousness of the present situation in Europe, pointing out that America may easily be drawn into war again if the people of Europe do not get the peace that they want.

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### ENDORSE PARIS PLAN

#### Support of League for Proposed Constitution is Cabled to Mr. Straus

Official endorsement of the Constitution of the League of Nations as proposed to the Paris Conference has been formulated by the officers of the League to Enforce Peace and cabled to the League's representative in Paris, Oscar S. Straus. It is signed by William Howard Taft, President; Alton B. Parker, Vice-President; A. Lawrence Lowell, Chairman of the Executive Committee; Theodore Marburg and Edward A. Filene, Vice-Chairmen; Herbert S. Houston, Treasurer; and William H. Short, Secretary, and reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The League to Enforce Peace, ever since its organization on June 17, 1915, has urged that a League of Free Nations be formed with adequate guarantee for the maintenance of peace, and that the United States be a member of it; and

WHEREAS, The Paris Covenant provides for such a League with effective machinery to secure justice and preserve liberty among the nations, and by peaceably settling differences between them to prevent needless resort to war;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the League to Enforce Peace express its desire that such a League and Covenant be ratified by the Senate of the United States, and that our country shall join with others as provided in this Covenant, to create the League and to guide its affairs both for the good of America and for the peaceful welfare and progress of mankind.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That we call upon all our fellow-citizens throughout the country to organize for active support of the most important proposal of all time and make their demand for the establishment of a League known to the President and the Senate.

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### HELP ON LEAGUE PLAN

#### Representatives in Paris are Giving Practical Support in Drafting Constitution

Behind the simple announcement of the proposed League of Nations Covenant is a story of the power of conciliation and the tactful diplomacy that made possible any definite plan. According to cable dispatches, Oscar S. Straus, chairman of the League's committee in Paris, was the man who saved the day for the proposed plan of world organization. Three days before the plan was finally adopted, Mr. Straus was told that the whole matter of a League of Nations was "on the rocks." The story was cabled to the *New York Times* as follows:

"The difficulty, which at the time seemed hopeless, was due to the insistent of Léon Bourgeois on providing for an international army under control of an international general staff, which might be sent anywhere at any time to fight for peace. This was something America positively refused to accept. Bourgeois refused with equal emphasis to yield. Mr. Straus undertook mediation.

"M. Bourgeois, accompanied by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, accepted an invitation to Mr. Straus's house in the Rue Montaigne. M. Bourgeois there read his own proposals, declaring that any League of Nations which did not include them would be no security for France and would be rejected by that country.

"Mr. Straus assured him that President Wilson was very near to the limit of his patience in the matter and also was very much chagrined by the persistent attacks of the French press, and would perhaps drop the whole question of a League of Nations. There was a long conversation and much argument in the Straus apartments. It was flatly put to Mr. Bourgeois that he would have to decide between having no league at all or a league without the French plans for an international army. He was assured that his plan was impossible because, for one reason, the American Senate would never ratify an agreement containing it.

"To the direct question whether France would prefer no league to one without the international army provision M. Bourgeois replied that France must have some league, and said he would consult Premier Clemenceau. He went immediately to the French Premier's house, and was back at the Straus apartment in an hour, ready to accept the covenant as it was finally adopted by the conference."

# MAGAZINES AND BOOKS

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Extracts from Current Publications Discussing Many Phases  
of League of Nations Movement

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March 1, 1919.

The new Constitution for a League of Nations is receiving much attention in current magazines and popular objections to the plan are widely discussed. *THE NEW REPUBLIC* for February 22 declares that we have, in the Constitution of 1919, the incorporation of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine in the law of nations; and it reminds those who fear that the League will encroach upon our rights that the Monroe Doctrine is not an instrument of aggression guaranteeing that we may have our will with the weaker states of the American continents, but a policy designed to insure the integrity and independence of our sister states.

Opponents of the President, *THE NEW REPUBLIC* states, are obliged to hide their real motives. They must make the most they can out of an imaginary constitutional restriction, an imaginary menace to the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, but back of their formal argument lurks the desire to annex Mexico, to seize positions of imperialistic advantage in world trade, to win industrial profits from overgrown armaments.

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*THE PUBLIC* for February 22 considers the basis of the League to be the special and distinctive contribution of the United States to the world settlement, and declares that President Wilson's speech, reporting the draft of the constitution, voices the aspiration of the whole American people. "Of all the nations that enter the League," *THE PUBLIC* states, "America has least to suffer in the way of sacrifice of pride and restriction of material interests. If we are doubtful, how can we expect the Nations of Europe to support the organization? . . . We have already gone out to meet the responsibilities of justice. We can continue to do so."

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The League of Nations is not only necessary but workable, Stephen P. Duggan writes in *THE SURVEY* for February 22. "It is for Americans to remember," he points out, "that though their constitution was put into effect in 1789, it was not until 1865, seventy-six years later, that it was definitely determined that their union was permanent. Surely it can be reasonably expected that given seventy-six years of trial, the League of Nations may develop a strength equal to the remarkable strength shown by our union when the crisis came in 1861. This cannot be, however, unless there is formed in its support a powerful, favorable, public opinion. To the formation of such support Americans should now devote themselves with energy and enthusiasm."

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"I favor anything that will bring nations closer together, promote friendship and remove causes of friction," Senator William E. Borah declares in an interview published in *THE NATION* of February 22. "But I am opposed to any kind of international agreement which involves any surrender of sovereignty on the part of the United States.

I am utterly opposed to our entering into entangling alliances with European powers, to the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, and I am against this vast scheme of financing and policing Europe."

Senator Borah believes that both the Democratic and Republican parties have caused great dissatisfaction throughout the country because of their failure to distinctly outline programs for the solution of such problems as the League of Nations.

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In *THE WORLD TO-MORROW* for February, Janet Payne Whitney writes of "An Immediate Duty for Patriots of the League." One of the first things the League of Nations means is the recognition of the independence of nations, she asserts. We must be our brother's keeper, nationally as individually. "It is in this direction, of realizing international responsibility, and of saving the lives of nations in peril of destruction, that the rank and file of us, who walk not as Peace Councillors nor as Senators, but as ordinary men and women, can make our most direct contribution just now to the construction of the League of Nations. The cultivation and expression of this new and larger patriotism, the patriotism for the League, need wait for no official international agreement. On the contrary what we do now will prepare the ground out of which the new international order may splendidly arise."

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"In facing this question—to have or not to have a League for Peace—most of us feel some reluctance about giving to an international body the power to tell us to do what we may not want to do," Lucius H. Beers writes in *THE OUTLOOK* of February 12. "If we have a League for Peace, such clashings of opinion will probably be fewer and less important than is generally supposed, for the submission of opposing views to a common tribunal has almost always worked well, and has also tended to prevent conflicting interests. But, assuming that difference will arise between our National view and the view of an international body, if we have one, the logical method of treating this objection to a League for Peace is to weigh it against the advantages on the other side. Most of the established methods of government are not altogether good; but we value them because, after balancing the objections against the advantages, we find that the advantages have it. And it is only logical and usual to adopt the same balancing test here."

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*THE INDEPENDENT* for February 22 publishes an article by Hamilton Holt describing the form which the League is taking in Paris, and presenting views based on his own conversations with President Wilson and with the premiers of Great Britain, France and Italy.

"The great issue which is still in doubt," Mr. Holt writes, "is whether the League of Nations will be a League of Governments or a League of Peoples. I find that many delegates have little conception of a league that can do more than merely prevent war from breaking out after a dispute has arisen. Of course any plan that will accomplish this deserves the gratitude of mankind. Nevertheless, public opinion in most countries has already gone beyond this and it is now seen as senseless to attempt to abolish war by waiting until a dispute has arisen as it is to abolish disease by adopting no sanitary precautions until the patient has taken to bed."

# THE MESSENGER

OF THE

## SOCIETY FOR INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

(FOUNDED BY THE UNITED STATES SOCIETY)

ANDREW CARNEGIE  
President

JOHN BATES CLARK  
Chairman, Exec. Com.

CHARLES H. LEVICKMORE  
Secretary

New York  
70 Fifth Avenue

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### THE PROBLEM OF THE FAR EAST AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

#### Tentative Suggestions for a Constructive International Far Eastern Policy

*A Report, presented by DR. SIDNEY L. GULICK to the Final Settlements  
Committee of the New York Peace Society, November 20, 1918.*

#### I. The Problem

**A**T the close of the world war a settlement should be reached providing for the universal application of the principles of justice to all alike.

A fundamental practicable solution needs to be found and agreed upon by the nations, including those of the Far East. No patchwork proposals will do. No continuance of the old policies and spirit with perhaps slight adjustments here and there will fulfill the requirements.

Unless provision is made by the nations voluntarily to grant adequate opportunity for the expanding life of China, this people will constitute an increasingly grave problem for the whole world. China should not be left to be in the future as she has been in the past, the field for rivalries between strong and enterprising nations, each planning exclusively for its own special interests.

Some well thought-out policy is needed that will deal with the whole complex problem. It should not only state with utmost clearness the general principles involved but also show how they would work out in concrete details.

To be somewhat specific, China should be gradually opened for development by foreign capital and skill, yet she should be protected from foreign domination and from harmful exploitation. She should be given fair play and opportunity to become a great self-governing democratic nation—



one of the coordinate nations of the world. She should be protected from the blunders and misdeeds of her own inexperienced, and too often, unprincipled officials. China must be saved from becoming either a chaotic or a militarized nation, a menace to the whole world.

Every nation should be given a fair opportunity to share in the prosperity that may be secured by cooperating in the economic and industrial development of a well-ordered, progressive China. To secure these ends of such transcendent importance to the welfare of the whole world, the great and strong nations of the whole world should agree together to adopt a new policy and a new method in their dealings with China.

The leaders of the West should proceed with insight into the problems and with foresight as to possibilities. Mankind must be saved from a tragedy of a world divided into two rival groups, the East and the West, the Yellow and the White. It is not a necessary and inevitable division although selfishness, greed and stupidity can easily make it so. The key of the future, so far as outside nations are concerned, is for the present at least in the hands of Japan, Great Britain and the United States. The intimate relations of France and especially of Russia to China should not be ignored.

The dangers in the Far Eastern situation lie almost exclusively in the political and commercial rivalries of the various nations interested in China. By organizing the present political and commercial competition of the various outside nations under a form of international control (China being unable to control this competition) that country can be safeguarded and protected from further aggression, permitting her to develop her republic along her own lines. International control will at the same time protect the interests of all foreign nations that have relations with China. Such control will as a result increase the development of the national resources of China to her own advantage as well as to that of each foreign country having interests there.

The proposals made in the following memorandum amount in fact to little more than the coordination and regulation of the foreign irregular operations now active in China. The present aggressors upon China's sovereignty are rival, competitive and in some cases even hostile to each other as well as to China, and are for that reason dangerous. The proposed coordination and regulation under international sanctions would accomplish two desirable objects: the protection of China and the elimination of dangerous rivalry. Such coordination would secure substantial diminution of encroachment.

The unification of the various foreign military and naval establishments (American, British, French, Italian, Japanese, etc.) that is proposed in this memorandum; the unification of the various foreign police services (existing in the Treaty Ports and in Peking); the unification of the foreign

supervisions over government offices (such as over the Salt Gabelle, the Maritime Customs, the Post Office, and over departments of some of the state railways); the absorption of the financial consortium now controlling large foreign loans to China—such unifications, absorptions and coordinations would tend to prevent further aggressions, from which China is unable at present to protect herself.

The unification of existing treaties and pledges regarding the preservation of China's integrity and independence is also highly desirable. Such unification would safeguard the international situation. The Anglo-Japanese Treaty, the Franco-Japanese Treaty and the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, all pledge their respective countries to the maintenance or at least (in the case of the last) to the preservation of China's integrity and independence. But they are separate pledges, and as such have not the value of a unified general international agreement. To a general agreement China herself might be made a competent party. Russia, when and if she recovers power, might also become a party. By such a general treaty all nations having important interests in the North Pacific will have been brought into agreement over the most menacing problem existing in that political sphere.

The proposals of this memorandum seek along these lines to embody in concrete form the general principles laid down by President Wilson in his memorable utterances of Jan. 8, Feb. 11, July 4, and September 27, 1918. Among those principles special attention may be called to the following:

- No private international understandings;
- Equality of trade conditions and opportunities among all the nations;
- The right of each people to self-determination and self-government;
- Impartial justice without discrimination and without favorites;
- The priority of the common interest of all over that of any single nation or group;
- The reign of law in each land based upon the consent of the governed.

## II. A Tentative Statement in General Terms of a Constructive International Far Eastern Policy

1. The underlying and controlling principle of the new International Far Eastern Policy should be the priority of the rights and interests of each one of the Far Eastern peoples in the integrity and unhampered development of its own state and nation.

2. In order to secure the cooperative, constructive and helpful activities of all the principal nations in solving the problem of China, it is desirable that that country, Japan, Great Britain, France and the United States should establish at the earliest practicable date an International Far Eastern Commission. These nations might well invite to cooperation in such a Commission, at a later date, representatives from other countries not included in the earlier steps. Any one of the above-mentioned govern-

ments should be regarded as competent to take the initiative in proposing such a Commission.

In case some kind of a League of Nations should be organized, it would undoubtedly be desirable that the proposed International Far Eastern Commission should either be established by the League or be brought into suitable organic relations with it.

3. It is hoped that one of the ultimate purposes of the Commission might be the restoration to China of all Chinese territories and intrinsic rights, some of which are now impaired by interferences or control of foreign governments. Such restoration could not be made until China herself had fulfilled certain essential and specified conditions, such for instance as the establishment of a stable and truly representative government, the codification of civil and especially of criminal law on modern principles, the development of a system of courts provided with lawyers and judges able to administer justice with probity and safety to all the parties concerned, and the inauguration and practice of a system of equitable taxation.

4. As soon as practicable after the Commission has been formed, it would seem desirable that all treaties granting special or monopolistic privileges in China proper should be submitted to it for its full information and if needful for advice in regard to such adjustment as shall be fair and equitable to all the parties concerned.

5. The ideal would also require that all the nations holding territories or spheres of influence in areas formerly a part of China proper should mutually agree to restore such territories to China at some suitable time and under appropriate conditions, whether those territories may have been acquired by so-called leases and concessions or by military conquest. The administrative control of such territories might well be intrusted temporarily to the care of the proposed Far Eastern Commission with a view to their ultimate and complete restoration. Such action would of course involve the withdrawal of all foreign troops and other forms of separate foreign control. Such withdrawal, however, should not take place until the proposed International Far Eastern Commission is ready to substitute for them its own International Constabulary.

6. The proposed Commission might control or absorb the Consortium already organized, and become the agency for providing China with such foreign capital as may be needed for her best industrial and economic development on terms safe and profitable for China and also for foreign investors.

### **III. Tentative Suggestions as to the Constitution, Functions and Powers of an International Far Eastern Commission**

On the basis of the foregoing sketch it is feasible to draft a tentative plan for the constitution, functions and powers of an International Far Eastern Commission. Whether or not such a Commission would be prac-

licable, acceptable and really valuable would depend on the skill with which the details of the plan were worked out.

A special joint Committee of experts in Far Eastern affairs might be charged with the duty of preparing a plan for the operation of an International Far Eastern Commission. For the purposes of study and discussion suggestions for such a plan are here given.

**A.—Outline of a Suggested Constitution of the Far Eastern Commission**

1. The Commission might consist of (2) Chinese, (1) Japanese, (1) British, (1) American, (1) French and representation on the part of other countries having important trade relations with China. The members of this Commission might be chosen (1) by the League of Nations, if it is established, (2) by the Versailles Council, or (3) by direct appointment of the governments concerned.

2. The Commissioners might serve for (say) five years from the date of their appointment. The compensations of the Commissioners would be paid by the respective governments which they represent.

**B.—The Functions and Powers of the Proposed International Far Eastern Commission**

1. The proposed Commission might create an *International Constabulary*, to consist, so far as practicable, of Chinese, not only as privates but also as officers, all wearing the uniform and insignia of their international functions, this Constabulary to replace, as soon as practicable, all the military and police forces of various nations in the territories and compounds now held by them severally and jointly.

2. Prompt consideration should be given to China's financial problem. The Commission might supervise international financial activities exceeding (say) \$100,000.00 between the Chinese Government or private Chinese groups on the one hand, and the Governments or corporations of other lands on the other. Contracts, loans, leases and other financial arrangements exceeding (say) \$100,000.00 between Chinese and foreigners (governmental or private) might be made subject to the approval of the Commission. Concerning Chinese problems of taxation and revenue the Commission might formulate policies and recommendations which could be used as bases for diplomatic discussion and possible agreement between China and the other Governments represented upon the Commission.

3. All loans, leases and contracts that already have been made in the past, might be examined by the Commission. The Commission might be empowered to advise the recasting of the terms of such loans, leases and contracts as justice to both sides may require, providing, on the one hand, for a fair return to foreign investors, and on the other for the final ownership by China herself (through methods of amortization) of the public utilities and enterprises that have been developed by foreign enterprise and capital.

4. All foreign corporations undertaking business in China, having a capital of (say) \$1,000,000.00, and all Chinese corporations or business enterprises whether wholly or only partly Chinese, having a capital of (say) \$100,000.00, seeking funds from foreign investors, might be required to incorporate under appropriate laws approved by the Commission and enacted by the Chinese Government.

5. Each of the governments maintaining diplomatic relations with China might be asked to make a statement to the Commission of its annual expenses for the preceding five years for the maintenance of military or police forces in China, for the administration of justice, and for any other public service which is to be taken over by the Commission. From the time that the Commission is prepared to assume these various duties each government might be asked to make annual payments to the Commission of a sum equal to the average of such expenses for the preceding five years. These receipts could be credited to the general administrative fund of the Commission.

6. The Chinese Government might agree to contract foreign loans, make leases and give grants, only upon terms approved by the Commission. The Commission on the other hand, while free to make suggestions and recommendations to the Chinese Government, should not have the independent right to authorize loans, leases, contracts or enter upon any financial or other obligation on behalf of the Chinese Government.

7. The proposed Commission might be empowered to provide for adequate supervision of the expenditure of all moneys paid over under its sanctions by foreign investors to the Chinese Government, a procedure which is now one of the functions of the Consortium.

8. The proposed Commission might provide that no nation or national group that secures leases or contracts for the building and running of railroads, opening of mines, establishment of steamship lines or any other enterprises of a nature constituting natural monopolies, shall grant preferential rates or rebates or service for the benefit of its own nationals.

9. In regard to the administration of justice, in general, the present extra-territorial arrangements might well be continued until China shall have qualified herself to administer justice according to modern principles. To replace, however, the present confusing system of consular courts established by the various nations with their various laws and procedure, the proposed Commission, in consultation with the Chinese Government, as soon as practicable might well establish a system of International Courts. All cases involving foreigners might be tried in these Courts.

10. As soon as the Chinese Government shall have established throughout the land a judicial system and shall have trained expert, responsible, and trustworthy judges for the administration of justice, complete judicial autonomy might be restored to China.

11. It might become the policy of the Commission to provide in all its departments for the employment and promotion of Chinese, and to train a staff of Chinese experts who might become eventually competent to perform all duties under the Commission.

12. When a sufficient body of expert Chinese officials shall have been developed and the general Government of China shall have become well established, and the other conditions specified have been met by the Chinese Government, the proposed Commission might recommend to the cooperating governments the discharge of the Commission.

13. The Chinese Government might have the right at any time, under appropriate limitations, to appeal to the cooperating governments in regard to any action of the Commission which it deems unjust or unwise.

14. Ordinary sessions of the proposed Commission might well be open to the public. Every resolution and action dealing with China's international relations, authorizing loans, leases, contracts, etc., would of course be published in full in the official Bulletin of the Commission.

#### IV. Advantages of the Policy Here Proposed

The advantages of the policy and program presented in the foregoing pages are many and great. They are in truth of vital importance to China, to Japan and also to all the nations.

To CHINA. By these means and probably by them alone can China hope to secure complete recovery of her sovereignty, of her territories and of her judicial and tariff autonomy. Protected from danger of foreign invasions or sinister peaceful penetration, fear would be removed and the moral and practical energies of the nation could be devoted to the establishment of a stable government and to the solution of her economic, industrial and other problems. China would thus secure safety and justice without being compelled to arm herself heavily as every modern State has been compelled to do. Her vast resources could then be expended wholly upon productive enterprises rather than upon armaments.

To JAPAN. All the justifiable objectives that Japan has been struggling for in the Far East would be guaranteed to her by the joint action of the nations. No longer would she need to maintain her expensive army and navy to assure safety, justice and economic opportunity. Stability and orderliness of government in China would give to Japan opportunity for that large trade with China which her geographical proximity, her knowledge of the Chinese language, and her industrial efficiency make certain and which her own industrial and economic needs make necessary. She would have unhampered access to raw materials in China and also to the enormous markets of China for her industrial products. With China developing securely as an industrial and commercial nation having no need of nor tendencies toward militarization, a profound apprehension would be removed from the mind of every thoughtful Japanese. Japan would, more-

over, secure courtesy of treatment and equality of status which are essential to the maintenance of good-will and friendship between her and the nations of the West.

TO OTHER NATIONS. The policy and program proposed above would prevent the dangerous competition in China of powerful rival nations. Each would have its fair opportunity and would not fear unfair competition. The danger of another world war, because of rivalry for the possession of China and her boundless wealth, would be averted. All the nations would share in the prosperity of a wholesomely developing, peaceful and prosperous China.

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## PRESENT AMERICAN, ENGLISH AND JAPANESE AGREEMENTS

### I. The Anglo-Japanese Treaty

The dominant diplomatic facts in the Far Eastern problem to-day are the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance and the Lansing-Ishii agreement. The texts of these documents are reproduced here with a little illustrative material.

It should be remembered that these two diplomatic facts are dissimilar in nature. The Anglo-Japanese agreement is a formal treaty with a definite term of existence. The other document is not a treaty, but embodies an informal understanding, based upon an exchange of notes not submitted to the approval of our Senate. It is practically revocable at will by either party at any time.

The first formal Anglo-Japanese alliance was made in 1902 and was renewed in 1905 at the time when Kaiser William was framing the secret treaty of Bjorke with Czar Nicholas, the treaty which Count Witte forced the Czar to repudiate. The Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1905 was so worded that it might have been inconsistent with the requirements of the general arbitration treaty between England and the United States, which was the subject of negotiations in 1911. In July of that year, therefore, the Anglo-Japanese treaty was again revised, and renewed for a period of ten years. The danger above referred to was warded off by Article IV.

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### AGREEMENT

Between the United Kingdom and Japan Respecting Rights and Interests in Eastern Asia and India, Signed at London, July 13, 1911.\*

#### Preamble

The Government of Great Britain and the Government of Japan, having in view the important changes which have taken place in the

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\* British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. CIV, pp. 173-174. American Journal of International Law, Supplement V, pp. 276-278.

*The Kingdom of God and the  
League of Nations*

SERMON

*BY*

REV. WILLIAM DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, D. D.

PRESIDENT OF HARTFORD SEMINARY FOUNDATION

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ASYLUM HILL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

MARCH 2, 1919



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“THE KINGDOM OF GOD  
AND THE  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS.”

Our text is taken from the prophecies of Isaiah, the second chapter.

“It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills: and all nations shall flow unto it. . . .

“And he will judge between the nations, and will decide concerning many peoples, and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

The conception of a united world, of a kind of League of Nations, of a universal and permanent peace, was born three thousand years ago in the hearts of Hebrew prophets. The way is long and winding that must be traced from their day to ours. The story is mixed, confused. There have been bloodshed and wrongdoing, the rise and fall of empires, the devastation of region after region, between their day and ours; but the vision which rose upon their view, having grown from one form to another, stands before us today in the proposal that all the nations of the world should form an Alliance based on those principles of justice and liberty — which are the law of Jehovah.

The vision of the prophets was due to their faith in one living God. The people who first believed that there is one God over all the earth were the first people to believe that all nations would one day come into a universal harmony and to a perpetual peace. It was the people who first accepted the kingship of God, who saw a universal brotherhood of man. It was the people who believed that He alone can give the supreme laws for the conduct of man, that it is man's supreme interest, as well as duty, to obey those laws; who first believed also that obedience to those laws would bring all the nations together into a universal and perpetual harmony. They do not describe that harmony as political in this passage. It does not consist in a formal outward league but a harmony that is the expression of one spirit, the outflow of one life — for Jehovah is the law unto the spirit, the ruler of the life of the nations that are so conceived. The way has been very long and very winding, full of glories that were evanescent and disasters that were terrible; but it has brought the world to its present unexampled hour. God has brought the world face to face, at last, with a document that reflects, more nearly than any other international document ever written, the law of Jehovah. You can almost hear the voice from that mountain on the top of the mountains speaking through its phrases and announcing the will of God.

We have been brought to this unexampled hour, this hour whose moral glory surpasses any that ever shone on the faces of men, by a great and fearful agony. There is no redemption without a cross; no morning without a midnight. There is no triumph without a terror. This great day has come out of a great darkness; this triumph out of an awful terror. We hardly know what it is, we who have only depended upon photo-

graphs and descriptions of war correspondents and reports of inspecting agents of various governments — all of whom have covered only little portions of the vast war and reported only a very small fragment of the desolations that four years have made in our world. These lie behind it all — the price paid for the new day. America knows very little of that price. We are almost ashamed to inherit the peace we hardly fought for, to enter into the glory that has cost us so few tears, so few bereaved homes, so little shed blood. We are almost ashamed to take our place in the great councils of the day amongst the nations where every home has had its bereavement, where for four long years little children have been rationed and multitudes of them have been starved to death. It is with a sigh we must say that we are there.

And the question now is: What shall America do in this great hour of the world's history? What place shall she take in the councils of the world? What hand must she have in shaping the destiny of the human race? Every continent, literally every continent is involved, literally every people upon the face of the earth is concerned with this matter. And the document that came from Paris, as a draft and proposal to the nations of the world, is being discussed in every quarter of the globe with the same intensity and with the same minute scrutiny of every phrase and word that are being spent upon it in America. America, with all the nations of the world, is being called upon to look into this matter and to rise to a great understanding of it, that she may discover not what others ought to do, but that which God commands her to accomplish in this great hour of the world's history. Something we must do. An attitude we must assume. Influence we must exert. It matters not whether we try to escape in one direction

or another; we cannot avoid exerting an enormous influence upon the history of the world by the decision that America reaches in this hour.

What are we going to make of the new world? What place is America ready to take among the nations of the world?

My discussion of this matter is aided somewhat because the air has been made a little more clear by that speech, published yesterday, which was made by Senator Lodge in the Senate last Friday (February 28). It is a speech in which I wish he had found the language to say what I am sure must be in his heart, that he, too, stands for a League of Nations and will vote for it when it is rightly described, when it is so articulated and set forth that his more important objections are laid aside. But the fact that the future leader of the Senate has not taken the position of one who opposes the general proposal of a League of Nations raises that question above mere party politics, and therefore I am free to discuss it here.

His speech has three great sections. In the first of these he discusses general principles on which America must act in preserving the continuity of George Washington's policy, that we must enter into no entangling alliances with the powers of Europe concerning European affairs; and also of that policy which for nearly a hundred years has become our permanent attitude, embodied in what is called the Monroe Doctrine, by which we have pledged ourselves to see that, whatever the South and Central American republics did to each other, no nation from outside the Western Hemisphere should be allowed to extend its territory or authority over them beyond that which such powers had at the date when the doctrine was promulgated.

In the central part of his speech Mr. Lodge has made criticisms of the present draft of the Constitution of the League of Nations, some of which may prove useful in its further consideration at Paris. In the last part of his speech Senator Lodge is less convincing. It is a discussion of what he announces as his immediate policy. There is a sentiment about it that did not awaken my admiration, but a keen regret. He says that his demand is: "Make peace with Germany, and bring the boys home."

That gives me the clue to what I wish to speak of in this church of Christ this morning — not in the tone of a political address, which I abominate from the pulpit, but in the tone of an address or a discussion of fundamental moral principles whose consideration is forced upon the whole world, upon our whole nation, upon every church in the land.

What is it to make peace with Germany? The whole world wants to make peace with Germany. All the nations that are at war have the same hunger as our senators to "bring the boys home." There are two or three millions of boys of the British Empire, there are two or three millions of boys of the French Republic that are not at home. There are hundreds of thousands of Italian boys away from home. They all want their boys home! And therefore they all want to make peace with Germany. But what is it to make peace with Germany?

There are three ways in which America can act at this present hour in making peace with Germany.

#### FIRST PLAN — A SEPARATE PEACE.

In the first place, there is a way which no one has had the audacity to propose. America could make a separate peace in two weeks and "bring the boys home."

She went last and alone into the war. She has preserved herself from any entangling alliance with the other Allies, and called herself, consistently and wisely, simply an associate; she did not declare war against Turkey and Bulgaria. What is left of an Austrian Empire, and what is the German Government of today, would sign any peace America proposed in two weeks. We could make a separate peace with Germany and Austria and clear out, leave Europe to stew in her own juice, rot in her own blood-soaked fields. We could leave the whole burden of any further making of peace with Germany and Austria — leave it all upon them. They undertook it at the start. We went in to save our own skin; we have saved it; and it will be several generations perhaps, decades at any rate, before the Germany that we fought with shall be able to be a menace again. In the meantime we can do much to prevent danger at home; and while the Allies are laboring on at the task of making peace, we could fill all the markets of the world with our commerce, we could send our ships to every port in the world, and build more and more, we could set all our factories whirring, and produce vast quantities of material they are waiting for. We could make peace in two weeks, and then become a nation such as no fable and no wildest poet ever dreamed of for wealth. We have saved our own skin, we could have every working man clothing it in linen and purple and filling it with the delicacies of the earth!

Now, why has that not been proposed? Because “the kingdom of God is among you.” Our conscience has revolted at the picture, we are almost angry that any man would suggest that America could undertake such a policy, the motives of which would be spread abroad before the world, the moral horror of which would cover our story for ever. That is why it has never

been proposed, so far as I know. But it is logically possible; it is one way of making peace with Germany.

If it is impossible — and it is, thank God, because the kingdom of God is amongst us — then what is “making peace with Germany?”

### WHAT DOES PEACE INVOLVE?

There are five regions of fact with which any peace that is made with Germany must deal intelligently and adequately. I wish to describe these as briefly as possible. If we stay in Paris, in order to sign peace with the other nations there, if we agree with these others as to what must enter into the terms of peace and the program of history that opens, then these five regions of fact will have to be included in that treaty of peace, one way or another, and dealt with effectively by all who are responsible parties to that treaty.

#### I. THE DEATH OF AUTOCRACY.

First, there must be security against the reestablishment of an autocracy in Germany, or anywhere else in the world. It is one thing to say that we leave every nation to choose its own form of government. It is another thing altogether to say that if we make peace with the present representative German government, we shall consider that that treaty is binding upon us if that government should in six months or a year, or in two years, come under military control and be transformed again into an autocracy. The autocracy would try to serve itself heir to the terms of that treaty, and every other treaty made by the present representative government. But the nations of the world have discovered that there can be no covenants made with an autocracy that are binding; and, therefore, the treaty of peace must take account of the fact that the nations



which make peace with Germany shall see to it that Germany does not restore the autocracy. That is an absolute simple duty resting upon the victorious nations of the world.

## 2. THE NEW NATIONS.

In the second place, the treaty of peace will necessarily include provisions dealing with the territorial boundaries and conditions of life of a multitude of new nations. It was our victory that created all these new nations. A nation may be born in a day, but it cannot grow up in a day; and these nations have to grow up and take their place in the great family of nations of mankind. To leave those nations when you have named their boundaries, to leave them alone henceforth, is like the practice in some lands of casting out infants, hoping that someone perhaps may pick them up, but quite aware that a beast of prey may kill them, or they may give out their last little feeble cry in the ditch, alone, in the cold. It is just possible that there may be those who say "Start them in that way, and leave them." That means war from the start. Some of them are at war now. It means that in Asia and in Europe there will be continual bloodshed and strife amongst these peoples, and in their weakness and strife they will be the prey of great neighboring powers which will try to recover what was taken from them by the fortunes of war. It was our victory that gave these new nations birth. They say in London that it was the stand taken towards autocracies by the United States of America, the continual messages and questionings that went forth from the President of the United States, that created the spirit and movements of revolution in Germany and Austria, that the armies at the front were broken down after the morale of the people at home had been broken,

that the armies yielded after the people at home had already determined, in answer to the challenge of America, to throw autocracy overboard. We are responsible for the new nations, as the others are. How long will it take to set them on their feet and enable them to begin with the foundations at least of a solid national life? How long will it take to teach them that henceforth they shall not be allowed to prey upon one another? It cannot be done in six months, or in twelve, or in twenty-four. You cannot have a nation grow to maturity so quickly as that. But the recognition of these new nations in the treaty means that plans for their security are involved in "peace with Germany."

### 3. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS.

In the third place, there is the unparalleled economic situation of the world. The war has upset the whole production and transportation, alike of food and of manufactures. There are vast regions of the earth which at present are in danger of actual starvation. Who is to feed them? And how long? There are great civilized nations that are cut off from their normal supply of raw materials for manufacture. How long is that to last? How are they to be helped to their feet again? The economic situation is being handled even now internationally, and several pamphlets have been published which describe the wide and complicated processes whose details cannot be set forth here. But the vital fact for us is that we are in it. We are at present helping to supply food; we are at present helping to keep the blockade against Germany, lest Germany get raw materials before the other nations are able to use them and so win a tremendous victory by springing to the front with her industries; we are clinching our victory and making it real in that and other ways. And

we are dealing with the supply of raw materials to the Allies and to other peoples. It is a situation in which no one nation can stand and walk alone, if it would be really a nation instinct with moral ideals and with human sympathies.

How long will it take to restore normal and to open up new methods of dealing with the food and the raw materials and the manufactures that must pass from one land to another in the future as in days gone by? It is a permanent problem and the beginnings of its solution must be part of "the peace with Germany."

#### 4. THE BACKWARD PEOPLES.

In the fourth place, there are backward peoples that are not in a position to become at once independent nations, in various parts of the world. They are not only in Africa; they are in Western Asia; they are, some of them, broken pieces of the ancient Russian Empire; and there are the islands of the South Seas. Who is to take charge of these backward peoples? Are they to become in the old sense the property of one nation? Are they to be handed over to this people and that as their owners and rulers? Or have we come to a new age, where responsibility for dealing with backward peoples is laid hold of, not by America or England alone, but by the consent of all the nations is laid hold of as a moral question, as involving deep principles of international custom and international action, which compel a dealing with these peoples today, at the dawn of a new age, in an entirely new fashion. How long will it take to lift those backward peoples to nationhood, and give them the capacity as well as the will to govern themselves and to take their place among the free peoples of the world? The plan for dealing with that question is at least involved in "peace with Germany."

## 5. THE SUPPRESSION OF WAR.

In the fifth place, the treaty of peace which deals with all these four regions of fact — it cannot escape doing so, because you cannot make peace with Germany without putting all these things in the treaty — in the fifth place, the treaty of peace with Germany must include some provision for the prevention of war. It is perhaps somewhat futile to expect that there will never be another war, but it would be monstrous to think that the world should not try to prevent it. I said a little while ago that we had hardly tasted war. Oh! Who can tell what is in the hearts of those nations that were deep in war for four long and tragic years concerning its possible recurrence? Who can describe the misery that comes over faces that I have seen when they talk about the bare possibility that provision may not be made to prevent war again, or an effort made to prevent it, that the treaty of peace may bring Europe and America and the other nations of the world back to their old ways and their old relations, and then leave the door wide open for the possibility of another disaster like that through which they have come? It is one of the most crushing suggestions you could make to millions and millions of our fellow beings that a world war is possible again. And we, of this favored country — shall it be said that we, because we did not taste all its bitterness, pass through all its desolation, therefore have no interest in the matter, no faith in it? Shall it be said that the American people do not determine to enter into any process that promises to secure peace for the world and to make impossible more than a local war here and there, at long intervals, from local circumstances? Or, are we so blind that we think peace with Germany will be more than a short peace unless in the

very conditions of that treaty of peace arrangements are made by the whole world to choke the dogs of war forever?

Let us remember that from the beginning America has felt that she had a mission to the world. It is a very interesting fact. Writer after writer, president after president, has, from almost the beginning of her history, uttered the consciousness of this people that while they were standing here on this continent alone and cut off from other peoples, yet they had a mission to the world. That mission has taken various forms. Within the last twenty years it has taken this important form, of a determination in the minds of many leading publicists and statesmen in this country, of multitudes of preachers and congregations, that we shall lead in any attempt that is made and that promises success to establish such understandings among the peoples as shall prevent the recurrence of war. We did that long ago, before wars were more than wars between two or three nations. Has the will of America weakened? Has her vision grown dim? Has her heart grown cold to this proposal that has become hitherto, we thought, part of her life, a facet of her shining conscience? Is it possible that today this great republic is willing to stand among the nations and say: "We are tired of our idealisms; we are sick of happy phrases; we give up all our past missionary enthusiasms; we have no message for humanity; we draw back from our place which we hoped we might have among the nations of the world, and we shall not join at present in any league that tries to secure peace for the world? We are waiting for a more propitious hour." It is my deep conviction that unless we make the league in the act of making peace that hour will never come — and my conviction

formed many months ago is confirmed by every piece of news that comes from Paris day after day.

Now these are the regions of fact which Senator Lodge surely must know are to be dealt with in the treaty of "peace with Germany". Every one of these five is essential. No possible treaty can be drawn up that omits any one of these, that does not place before Germany and Austria these concerns with their proposed solutions and with the demand that Germany and Austria shall sign the treaty imposed upon them for the carrying of those solutions to a complete and happy issue.

#### SECOND PLAN — SIGN AND STEP OUT

I do not know of any statesman who says that we ought to pull out of the making of that treaty of peace, and that we should not sign it. If America signs that treaty of peace, what is she to do? There are two possible policies. The first of these is a little similar to the one I described before. It is conceivable that America shall, through her representatives, worthy or unworthy, there at Paris, help to draw up this treaty of peace, and then, with the approval of the Senate, affix her seal to it, and then say to the other nations of the world, and to Germany: "Now we have signed! We have helped you to work out these various programs; we know it will take from six months to two years, or five years, to carry these provisions into full effect. But we belong to the Western Hemisphere, and therefore we leave the burden on you. We are quite happy in that hemisphere of ours which shines from Botany Bay to the Horn upward to its skies. We want to go home and stay there; these things concern other parts of the world, not the Western Hemisphere; look ye to it and carry out these provisions; we have helped you a great

deal; we were a part of the victorious armies; we have sat here and contributed our wisdom and proposals to this conference of peace; see, there is our seal; we have joined with you in making this peace with Germany and Austria; today our responsibility comes to an end; our ships are going home."

Will the conscience of America allow her to undertake that attitude towards the world? For, observe, this is not a question of Europe alone. It is a question of the world; it concerns China and Japan, and the whole of Russia in Asia as well as in Europe; it concerns Africa; it concerns Turkey, as well as all the nations of Europe; it concerns Canada and Australia; it concerns the South American republics; and it concerns ourselves. Is America, the greatest of all these nations that are outside of Europe, going to take the attitude that because she is so great and safe and self-sufficient, therefore, when she has done all that to win victory and secure peace, her responsibilities are at an end and she leaves the carrying out of this world-wide program to the other peoples of the world? The kingdom of God is among you! The nation that will ask itself where its conscience is and realizes that its conscience is the throne of God, that it is "the mountain of Jehovah;" the nation that shall say "We are a Christian nation, 'In God we trust, In Christ we hope;" the nation that will say "We are a Christian civilization, and we have always tried to maintain our international relations on the level of Christian law and principle;" the nation that will say, "We cannot deny that the Master of human life has been revealed in the Son of God, and we wish to ask at this hour not what our private interest or opinion is, but what the task of America is, responsible to the King of Kings and Lord of Lords for dealing with the nations of the world" — the America that says these

things and asks where duty lies will receive from God and from her own conscience only one conceivable answer. But that answer takes us into

### THE THIRD PLAN — A LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

A League of Nations is not an entangling alliance with the European powers. The President of the United States was confronted with that possibility shortly after he landed in Europe; and I was present at several discussions of it among some very interesting people, on different occasions. When the French Prime Minister announced very abruptly that he was against a League of Nations and that he stood for the system of Balance of Power, he intended or desired that America should enter into that entangling alliance to create an irresistible Balance of Power and keep the hostile empires forever as an enemy across the Rhine. The President of the United States, remembering George Washington as he has always done, at once refused to have anything to do with any arrangement that should mean an entangling alliance of America with the nations of Europe. And he announced — Mr. Daniels, on his behalf, announced, on this side — the logical consequence, namely, that if the solution of this peace problem establishes the old system of "Balance of Power" in Europe, America not only must stand outside, but must set herself never to be caught again unprepared. She will therefore build up the strongest Navy and a mighty Army for self-defense against the inevitable day when the Balance of Power system will result in another world war.

I was asked by one after another: "What is the meaning of that talk in America about a great army and a great navy?" I explained to them the situation; "America never will consent to enter into entangling Alliances with European powers; and the President



has once more said that to the European statesmen; and the only logical consequence is — if you fall back upon that discredited and disastrous system of life in Europe — the only alternative is for America to render herself forever safe against its dangers.” And there was not a man that I talked it over with, and put the thing so frankly before him as that, who did not instantly say, “America is right.”

The President of the United States, speaking in the name of the Republic, refused that proposal; and there is only one conceivable program that opens up. It is that there should be an alliance that includes all the nations of the world, an alliance that brings America into as close contact with China as with France, into as close and real an alliance with any nation in any part of the world as with any other nation in any other part of the world, an alliance that does not bind America more than it binds any other people of the earth, an alliance that does not call upon America to do more than her proportion in securing the peace of the world and securing these other blessings that are to flow from the treaty of peace, that does not bind her to do more than her proportion as compared with any other of the nations of the earth, an alliance that has nothing higher than the will of each nation to join in it, an alliance that has no higher responsibility imposed upon each nation than to conceive its meaning and give its life to the fulfillment of its own share in the great sublime task, an alliance that lifts men’s faces heavenwards, as saying “Now, there is no empire of earth above us all, but only the face of God; now, there is no state or government controlling us all, but each controlling the others in the brotherhood of this alliance, depending only upon that conscience which is human everywhere and which every-

where is the seat and throne of the majesty of the Holy God.”

For the League of Nations can only be consecrated fully, and entered into royally, by those great nations that have worn the name of Christian for long centuries; the others must follow after them and receive their blessings from them. This great alliance of the nations — I do not like the word “League,” it is too short and hard and obstructive to thought — we want an Alliance of Nations, a free gift of all the peoples to one another, in which they shall all say: “We now are entering upon a period when we realize that man’s moral history is derived from his moral ideals, and his moral ideals come from his vision of the face of God.”

#### AMERICA FIRST.

“America first.”— Those words may either be the best words or the worst words in our history. If a man says “America first” — “to grow rich and strong, materially prosperous, militarily mighty, irresistible, populated ultimately by hundreds of millions of free, splendid, energetic, conquering citizens — that is my ideal.” If he says “America first,” in the sense of America richer, more powerful than all the nations of the world, and our policy today is to use this opportunity to get America first to the front in these respects — that is the worst that could happen to America.

“America first” — first in her convictions of what justice is for all the nations of the world, ready to put her seal upon those great words, “The interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest,” “America first” in putting her seal on that, and going on to say: “We shall lead in the consecration of ourselves to secure that sacred fact for the vision and the conscience and the will of mankind;” “America first,”

ready to spring to the front to create the alliance of the world, to overcome all the difficulties, to correct all the errors in this draft (which she did not make, which came out of other sources); having made these corrections and improvements, and perfected the instrument as one of the charters, the greatest charter, of liberty for mankind — then “America first” in sacrificial service, first in bearing her own share of the white man’s burden and the Christian man’s burden and the civilized man’s burden in relation to all the needs of all the parts of the world into which our alliance takes us and takes all the peoples of the earth — America as in that sense “first” is America glorious, America shining with something like the face of Christ.

“Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of  
the Lord;  
He has trampled out the vintage where the grapes  
of wrath are stored;  
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible  
swift sword,  
His truth is marching on.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never  
call retreat;  
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His  
judgment seat;  
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant  
my feet,  
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across  
the sea,  
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you  
and me;  
As He died to make men holy, let us *'live'* to make  
men free,  
While God is marching on."



# Senator Knox Answered

By

**WILLIAM H. TAFT**

*Ex-President of the United States*

*In this address, delivered before  
the Economic Club of New York,  
March 11, 1919, Mr. Taft dissects  
and refutes the objections raised  
by his former Secretary of State  
against the proposed Constitution  
for a*

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# SENATOR KNOX ANSWERED

BY

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Ex-President of the United States

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My friend, Senator Knox, has presented a formidable indictment against the proposed covenant of the League of Nations. A number of his colleagues seem to have accepted his views as to its meaning. He says that it is unconstitutional in that it turns over to the Executive Council of the League the power to declare and make war for us, to fix our armament and to involve us as a mandatory in all sorts of duties in the management of backward peoples. He says that it thus transfers the sovereignty of this nation to the governing body of the League, which he asserts the Executive Council to be.

## Executive Council's Function

When Senator Knox's attack upon the validity of the covenant is analyzed, it will be seen to rest on an assumption that the Executive Council is given executive powers, which is unwarranted by the text of the covenant. The whole function of the Executive Council is to be the medium through which the League members are to exchange views, the advisory board to consider all matters arising in the field of the League's possible action and to advise the members as to what they ought by joint action to do.

The Council makes few if any orders binding on the mem-

bers of the League. After a member of the League has agreed not to exceed a limit of armament, the Executive Council must consent to raising the limit. Where the Executive Council acts as a mediating and inquiring body to settle differences not arbitrated, its unanimous recommendation of a settlement must satisfy the nation seeking relief, if the defendant nation complies with the recommendation.

These are the only cases in which the United States as a member of the League would be bound by action of the Executive Council. All other obligations of the United States under the League are to be found in the covenants of the League, and not in any action of the Executive Council. When this is understood clearly, the whole structure of Senator Knox's indictment falls.

The Executive Council is a most necessary and useful body for coordinating the activities of the League, for initiating consideration by the members of the League of their proper joint and individual action, and for keeping all advised of the progress of events in the field of the League jurisdiction.

### No Super-Sovereign Power

It is impossible in the time I have to follow through Senator Knox's argument in all the Articles of the League, but his treatment of Article XVI is a fair illustration of the reasons he advances for ascribing to the Executive Council super-sovereign power.

Article XVI is the penalizing section. Whenever a member of the League violates its covenant not to make war under Article XII, it is an act of war against the other members and they are to levy a boycott against the outlaw nation. There is in the covenant no covenant or agreement by them to make war. An act of war does not produce a state of war unless the nation acted against chooses to declare and wage war on account of it. The Executive Council is given the duty of *recommending* what forces should be furnished by members of the League to protect the covenants of the League. The members are required to



allow military forces of member of the League, cooperating to protect the covenants, passage through their territory.

Of this article Senator Knox says :

“If any of the high contracting parties breaks its covenant under Article XII, then we must fly to arms to protect the covenants.” Again he says of it: “Whether or not we participate, and the amount of our participation in belligerent operations is determined not by ourselves but by the Executive Council in which we have seemingly, at most, but one voice out of nine. No matter what we think of the controversy, no matter how we view the wisdom of a war over the cause, we are bound to go to war when and in the manner the Executive Council determines.” Again Senator Knox says the power of the Executive Council is that of “recommending what effective military or naval forces each member of the League shall contribute to protect the covenants of the League, not only against League members but non-League members, *that is, as a practical matter, the power to declare war.*”

### Can “Recommend” Only

I submit in all fairness that there never was a more palpable *non sequitur* than this. I venture to think that were Senator Knox charged as Secretary of State with construing the obligation of the United States under this covenant, he would on behalf of the United States summarily reject such a construction.

By what manner of reasoning can the word “recommend” be converted into a word of direction or command? Yet upon this interpretation of the meaning of the words “recommend,” “advise” and words of like import, as they occur in many articles, depends his whole argument as to the powers of the Executive Council under the covenant, and their super-sovereign character.

Senator Knox contends that the plan of the League will create two Leagues—one of the Allies and one of the outcast nations. The covenant provides for a protocol to invite in all nations responsible and fit for membership. Certainly Germany and the other enemy countries ought not now to be taken in but they ought to be kept under control. The League wishes to pre-

vent war in the world and realizes, of course, that excluded nations are quite as likely to make war as their own members.

### **Covenants Involve Whole World**

The covenant therefore declares the concern of the League in threatened war between nations whether members or not and asserts its right to take steps to prevent it. This declaration is made plainly as the justification for the Article XVII, by which a nation or nations not members of the League who threaten war are invited to become temporary members of the League in order to enable them to settle their disputes peaceably as permanent members covenant to do. These temporary members are visited with the same penalties for acts which would be by permanent members breaches of their covenants not to begin war. Thus the scope of the League's action is extended to all nations.

This is the explanation and the purport of Article XI and Article XVII. They involve the whole world in the covenants of the League not to make war. They operate to defeat the formation and warlike organization of a rival League of Nations not admitted as permanent members to this League. They unite the rest of the world against such nations in any case of war threatened by them.

### **Reasonable Interpretation**

There is no supreme court to construe this covenant and bind the members, and each nation in determining its own obligations and action under it must construe it for itself. Our duties under it are not to be declared and enforced against us by a hostile tribunal or by one actuated by different principles and spirit from our own. Its whole strength is to rest in an agreed interpretation by all. Its sanction must be in the good sense of the covenanting nations who know that, in order that it may hold together and serve its purpose, they must all be reasonable in their construction. What rules of interpretation should and must we therefore apply?

The President and Senate are to ratify this covenant if it be ratified, by virtue of their constitutional power to make treaties. This power, as the Supreme Court has held, enables them to bind the United States to a contract with another nation on any sub-

ject matter usually the subject matter of treaties between nations, subject to the limitation that the treaty may not change the form of government of the United States, and may not part with territory belonging to a state of the United States, without the consent of the State. The making of war, of embargoes, or armament, and of arbitration are frequent subject matter of treaties.

The President and Senate may not, however, confer on anybody constituted by a League of Nations the power and function to do anything for the United States which is vested by the Federal Constitution in Congress, the treaty making power or any other branch of the United States Government.

### **Powers of Congress**

It, therefore, follows that whenever the treaty making power binds the United States to do anything, it must be done by the branch of that Government vested by the Constitution with that function. A treaty may bind the United States to make or not make war in any specific contingency; it may bind the United States to levy a boycott, to limit its armament to a fixed amount; it may bind the United States to submit a difference or a class of differences to arbitration; but the only way in which the United States can perform the agreement is for Congress to fulfil the promise to declare and make war; for Congress to perform the obligation to levy a boycott; for Congress to fix or reduce armament in accord with the contract; and for the President and Senate, as the treaty making power, to formulate the issues to be arbitrated and agree with the opposing nation on the character of the court.

When the treaty provides that the obligation arises upon a breach of a covenant, and does not make the question of the breach conclusively determinable by any body or tribunal, then it is for Congress itself to decide in good faith whether or not the breach of the Covenant upon which the obligation arises, has in fact occurred, and finding that, it has to perform the obligation.

### **Harmonizes With Federal Constitution**

These plain limitations upon the Federal treaty making power are known to nations of this Conference, and any treaty

of the United States is to be construed in the light of them. Following these necessary rules of construction, the provisions of the Covenant entirely and easily conform to the Constitution of the United States. They lose altogether that threatening and dangerous character and effect which Senator Knox and other critics would attach to them. They delegate to no body but to our own Federal constitutional agencies the duty of deciding in good faith what our obligations under the Covenant are, when they become immediate, the appropriate means and method by which they are to be performed, and the performance of them.

By the first article the action of the high contracting parties under the covenant are to be "effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international secretariat."

### How Authority Is Limited

This means only that when the high contracting parties wish to take joint action, it is to be taken through such meetings. This does not vest these bodies with power except as it is especially described in the succeeding articles. The unusual phrase "effected through the instrumentality of meetings of" means what it says. It does not confer authority on the body of delegates or the Executive Council, but only designates the way in which the high contracting parties shall through their representatives express their joint agreement and take action.

On this head, Lord Robert Cecil, who had much to do with formulating the covenant, made an illuminating remark in his address following the report by the Committee of the Covenant to the Conference. He said:

"Secondly—We have laid down (and this is the very great principle of the Delegates, except in very special cases, and for very special reasons which are set out in the Covenant) that all action must be unanimously agreed to in accordance with the general rule that governs international relations. That this will to some extent, in appearance at any rate, militate against the rapidity of action of the organs of the League, is undoubted. In

my judgment, that defect is far more than compensated by the confidence that it will inspire that no nation, whether small or great, need fear oppression from the organs of the League."

This interpretation by one of the most distinguished draftsmen of the League shows that all its language, reasonably construed, delegates no power to these bodies to act for the League and its members without their unanimous concurrence unless the words used make such delegation clear.

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Article VIII provides that the Executive Council shall determine, for the consideration and action of the several governments, what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of force laid down in the program of disarmament formulated by it, and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council. This leaves wholly to the governments the acceptance or rejection of the proposed limitation.

Senator Knox says that as this recommendation will be made with the consent of our representative on the Council, we shall be in honor bound to accept the limit and bind ourselves. It is difficult to follow this reasoning. The body which is to accept the limitation is the Congress of the United States. Why should the Congress of the United States be bound by a representative selected by the President to represent the United States in this function, in respect to a matter of great importance under the control of Congress.

That the United States should recognize the wisdom of a reduction of armament under a world plan for it seems manifest. The history of competitive armaments, with its dreadful sequel, is too fresh in the minds of the peoples of the world for them not to recognize the wisdom of an agreed reduction. If we have an agreed reduction, then there must be some limit to which the governments agree to submit. If the nations of Europe are content to bind themselves to a limitation with so many dangerous neighbors, why should we hesitate to help this world movement? There is not the slightest probability that we will wish to exceed

the limit proposed. Our national failing has been not to maintain enough armament. The argument of Mr. Knox involves the conclusion that the United States cannot enter into any agreement not to exceed a certain limit of armament. Since 1817, we have agreed by treaty with Great Britain not to have warships on the Great Lakes. The validity of that treaty has never been contested.

There are other treaties of the same tenor. It is true that in the treaty of 1817 either party is able to withdraw from the treaty after a year's notice, but the principle would be the same whether it was a year or ten years. I quite agree that a period should be fixed either for expiration of the obligation or a withdrawal therefrom by a reasonable notice; but that we should have such an agreement it seems to me goes without saying, and I don't know anybody better able to make a just recommendation for our consideration than the Executive Council.

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Senator Knox conceives that there will be thrown upon the United States obligations in respect to the backward countries in Turkey and in Africa which formerly belonged to the Central Powers, because it would be obliged to govern as a mandatory under direction of the Executive Council, and that the Executive Council might require the sending of American troops to these distant lands to die in an unwholesome climate and to expose themselves to all sorts of dangers in remote countries. It is a sufficient answer to this to say that there is no obligation on the part of the United States to accept obligations as a mandatory. It does not covenant to do so, and it is not likely to do so. If it did, it would manage the country over which it was a mandatory with the fullest discretion. The high contracting parties would lay down rules in advance, or the Executive Council would grant a charter under which the mandatory would discharge its trust, but the United States, not being obliged to act as a mandatory, could decline to accept any charter to which it objected. A mandatory is required to make a report at the end of a year to show that it has conformed to the limitations

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Senator Knox objects to the provision that no treaties made by members of the League shall have effect until after they have been registered in the office of the League. He says this is contrary to the Constitution, because treaties are to take effect when ratified by the Senate and proclaimed by the President.

This objection is not very formidable. All this requires is that the United States shall provide in every one of its future treaties that it will not take effect until the treaty is registered in the Secretariat of the League. Certainly an agreement on the part of the United States and the nation with whom it is making a treaty as to conditions upon which it shall take effect are not in violation of the constitutional requirements to which Senator Knox refers.

### No Transfer of Sovereignty

If, as it seems clear from a consideration of the language already examined, and of all the other language that refers to the Executive Council, there is no delegation of constitutional functions to that Council by the United States in entering the League, the whole argument of Senator Knox with reference to a transfer of the sovereignty falls. The United States merely makes agreements which it has the right to make under the treaty making power and these agreements are to be performed by its constitutional agencies. Those agencies are merely limited by the contracts of the government and retain their power and discretion to dishonor such contracts if they choose, although we would hope they would not.

As long as all the branches of the government function as the constitution requires, with the discretion fixed in them by that instrument, the form of the government is not changed and the sovereignty is not given up. In the proper and true

sense a lawful contract does not interfere with the liberty of the individual or the sovereignty of a nation when fully and freely entered into. This League does not intend to curtail the sovereignty of the United States. The sovereignty of the United States is a sovereignty consistent with the sovereignty of every other nation. It should be a sovereignty limited by international law and international morality. The League only furnishes the machinery by which this equal and just sovereignty among the nations may be preserved. It furnishes for that preservation the sanction of a loose agreement between the nations under which the united forces of the nations may be directed to restraining the abuses of sovereignty by any nation.

### Knox's Proposed Substitute

Senator Knox criticises the League because it recognizes the possibility of war and proposes to use war to end war. Certainly there is no means of suppressing lawless violence but by lawful force and any League which makes no provision for that method and recognizes its validity would be futile. He points out that the plan of the League is not war proof, and that war may come in spite of it. Then he describes the kind of League which he would frame in which he provides a league which will involve the United States in quite as much war and in just as great a transfer of its sovereignty, as he charges this covenant with doing.

He proposes to have compulsory arbitration before an International Court of international differences, excluding questions of policy. His court would not settle all differences likely to lead to war, for questions of policy, however, because non-justiciable are just as likely to produce war as questions which are justiciable. Then he would declare war a crime and any nation engaged in it other than in self-defense, should be punished as an International Criminal. Would not punishing a nation as a criminal be likely to involve war? The Court would have the right to call on powers constituting the League to enforce its decrees and awards by force and economic pressure. It would be difficult to state a League more completely transferring sovereignty to an outside body and



giving it power to involve us in war than the plan of Senator Knox. It is far more drastic and ambitious, and derogates much more from national control than anything in this League. In contrast with it, the present League is modest.

### Experience Will Suggest Improvements

The supporters of the present covenant do not profess it to be a perfect instrument. It does not profess to abolish war. It only adopts a somewhat crude machinery for making war improbable, and it furnishes a basis for the union of nations by which if they are so minded they can protect themselves against the recurrence of the disaster of such a war as that with which Europe has been devastated during the last four years. Experience under the League will doubtless suggest many improvements. But it is the first step that costs. Let us take it now when the whole world is yearning for it.

# Senator Knox Answered

By

**WILLIAM H. TAFT**

*Ex-President of the United States*

*In this address, delivered before  
the Economic Club of New York,  
March 11, 1919, Mr. Taft dissects  
and refutes the objections raised  
by his former Secretary of State  
against the proposed Constitution  
for a*

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# SENATOR KNOX ANSWERED

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My friend, Senator Knox, has presented a formidable indictment against the proposed covenant of the League of Nations. A number of his colleagues seem to have accepted his views as to its meaning. He says that it is unconstitutional in that it turns over to the Executive Council of the League the power to declare and make war for us, to fix our armament and to involve us as a mandatory in all sorts of duties in the management of backward peoples. He says that it thus transfers the sovereignty of this nation to the governing body of the League, which he asserts the Executive Council to be.

## Executive Council's Function

When Senator Knox's attack upon the validity of the covenant is analyzed, it will be seen to rest on an assumption that the Executive Council is given executive powers, which is unwarranted by the text of the covenant. The whole function of the Executive Council is to be the medium through which the League members are to exchange views, the advisory board to consider all matters arising in the field of the League's possible action and to advise the members as to what they ought by joint action to do.

The Council makes few if any orders binding on the mem-

bers of the League. After a member of the League has agreed not to exceed a limit of armament, the Executive Council must consent to raising the limit. Where the Executive Council acts as a mediating and inquiring body to settle differences not arbitrated, its unanimous recommendation of a settlement must satisfy the nation seeking relief, if the defendant nation complies with the recommendation.

These are the only cases in which the United States as a member of the League would be bound by action of the Executive Council. All other obligations of the United States under the League are to be found in the covenants of the League, and not in any action of the Executive Council. When this is understood clearly, the whole structure of Senator Knox's indictment falls.

The Executive Council is a most necessary and useful body for coordinating the activities of the League, for initiating consideration by the members of the League of their proper joint and individual action, and for keeping all advised of the progress of events in the field of the League jurisdiction.

### No Super-Sovereign Power

It is impossible in the time I have to follow through Senator Knox's argument in all the Articles of the League, but his treatment of Article XVI is a fair illustration of the reasons he advances for ascribing to the Executive Council super-sovereign power.

Article XVI is the penalizing section. Whenever a member of the League violates its covenant not to make war under Article XII, it is an act of war against the other members and they are to levy a boycott against the outlaw nation. There is in the covenant no covenant or agreement by them to make war. An act of war does not produce a state of war unless the nation acted against chooses to declare and wage war on account of it. The Executive Council is given the duty of *recommending* what forces should be furnished by members of the League to protect the covenants of the League. The members are required to

allow military forces of member of the League, cooperating to protect the covenants, passage through their territory.

Of this article Senator Knox says :

“If any of the high contracting parties breaks its covenant under Article XII, then we must fly to arms to protect the covenants.” Again he says of it: “Whether or not we participate, and the amount of our participation in belligerent operations is determined not by ourselves but by the Executive Council in which we have seemingly, at most, but one voice out of nine. No matter what we think of the controversy, no matter how we view the wisdom of a war over the cause, we are bound to go to war when and in the manner the Executive Council determines.” Again Senator Knox says the power of the Executive Council is that of “recommending what effective military or naval forces each member of the League shall contribute to protect the covenants of the League, not only against League members but non-League members, *that is, as a practical matter, the power to declare war.*”

### Can “Recommend” Only

I submit in all fairness that there never was a more palpable *non sequitur* than this. I venture to think that were Senator Knox charged as Secretary of State with construing the obligation of the United States under this covenant, he would on behalf of the United States summarily reject such a construction.

By what manner of reasoning can the word “recommend” be converted into a word of direction or command? Yet upon this interpretation of the meaning of the words “recommend,” “advise” and words of like import, as they occur in many articles, depends his whole argument as to the powers of the Executive Council under the covenant, and their super-sovereign character.

Senator Knox contends that the plan of the League will create two Leagues—one of the Allies and one of the outcast nations. The covenant provides for a protocol to invite in all nations responsible and fit for membership. Certainly Germany and the other enemy countries ought not now to be taken in but they ought to be kept under control. The League wishes to pre-

vent war in the world and realizes, of course, that excluded nations are quite as likely to make war as their own members.

### **Covenants Involve Whole World**

The covenant therefore declares the concern of the League in threatened war between nations whether members or not and asserts its right to take steps to prevent it. This declaration is made plainly as the justification for the Article XVII, by which a nation or nations not members of the League who threaten war are invited to become temporary members of the League in order to enable them to settle their disputes peaceably as permanent members covenant to do. These temporary members are visited with the same penalties for acts which would be by permanent members breaches of their covenants not to begin war. Thus the scope of the League's action is extended to all nations.

This is the explanation and the purport of Article XI and Article XVII. They involve the whole world in the covenants of the League not to make war. They operate to defeat the formation and warlike organization of a rival League of Nations not admitted as permanent members to this League. They unite the rest of the world against such nations in any case of war threatened by them.

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It, therefore, follows that whenever the treaty making power binds the United States to do anything, it must be done by the branch of that Government vested by the Constitution with that function. A treaty may bind the United States to make or not make war in any specific contingency; it may bind the United States to levy a boycott, to limit its armament to a fixed amount; it may bind the United States to submit a difference or a class of differences to arbitration; but the only way in which the United States can perform the agreement is for Congress to fulfil the promise to declare and make war; for Congress to perform the obligation to levy a boycott; for Congress to fix or reduce armament in accord with the contract; and for the President and Senate, as the treaty making power, to formulate the issues to be arbitrated and agree with the opposing nation on the character of the court.

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If, as it seems clear from a consideration of the language already examined, and of all the other language that refers to the Executive Council, there is no delegation of constitutional functions to that Council by the United States in entering the League, the whole argument of Senator Knox with reference to a transfer of the sovereignty falls. The United States merely makes agreements which it has the right to make under the treaty making power and these agreements are to be performed by its constitutional agencies. Those agencies are merely limited by the contracts of the government and retain their power and discretion to dishonor such contracts if they choose, although we would hope they would not.

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## President Wilson Receives Delegation of French Protestants

(Translated from Le TEMOINAGE, Paris)

The executive committee of the French Protestant Federation was received on January 27th by President Wilson. In the course of the reception, speeches were made by Pastor Wilfred Monod and M. Cornelis de Witt, President of the Relief Committee. Following is the text of the addresses as well as the President's response:

### ADDRESS BY REV. WILFRED MONOD

"Mr. President: 'The mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceeding small.' Three centuries have passed since the Mayflower with all sails set left England and launched out upon the unknown, tossed by the tempests of tyranny, with the object of nurturing the divine seed of religious and political liberty. Now the frail barque has at last made its return voyage. The ships loaded with two million crusaders have returned to bring liberty to the ancient continent, and most sacred of all, they are bearing this precious gift, the League of Nations.

"It is for this reason that our meeting together in Paris at this moment of climax in the world's history bears an especial historic significance. I count it a signal honor, I who have visited the United States, of addressing you in the name of the Protestant churches of France. This group of the Reformed churches, the Lutherans, the Methodists, the Baptists, is a little community of about 600,000 souls, or a million if we include those in our redeemed provinces. But it is a power in spiritual matters. We are in the city where the very stones bear eloquent witness to the bravery of the Huguenots, and of a consecration to the service of liberty thrice tested by the sword. Be assured the French Protestants recognize and are proud to greet in the President of the United States one of their co-religionists, the son and the grandson of ministers, a man who has publicly borne witness to the moral and social truths in the Bible.

They will be deeply touched and appreciative if now or later on, you find it possible to accept our invitation to meet with us in one of our places of worship. Last summer the General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Rev. Dr. Macfarland, as an official representative from America, accomplished by his presence in our midst, a fine work of union between your churches and ours. And if you should come, Mr. President, to take your seat as a brother in one of our congregations some Sunday morning, this act would have a deep significance. It would exercise a lasting influence throughout our well beloved country.

"It is not that such a manifestation would be necessary to set forth in relief before the eyes of the entire world the well recognized Protestant characteristics of your personality! They are clearly recognized by their pervading influence in your Presidential messages during the war, breathing as they always have, the Biblical atmosphere. Sincerity, justice, law, liberty, fraternity, humanity, such are the musical notes which resound most frequently from your utterances, and thus have you worshipped 'in spirit and in truth' the One Who is Spirit, without 'taking the name of God in vain.'

"Such a vocabulary is very familiar among French Protestants and they have recognized the very voice of the Hebrew prophet, and they acclaim in you, Mr. President, a true son of the Messianic hope. They have suffered cruelly, and all of their fellow countrymen, during the 'great tribulation,' and perhaps you saw yesterday at Rheims, the crumbling ruins of the Reformed Temple. The only guarantee against the renewal of such odious crimes, is a law of nations, for, to speak the words of one of your statesmen, 'the issue of this war will be either Utopia or Hell.' Multitudes of broken-hearted, bleeding ones are blessing your name, Mr. President, for having thrown all the power of your thought and of your will in favor of the Utopia. I have heard the workmen sing in the assembly of the English unions,

"When wilt Thou save the people,  
Oh, God of Mercy, when?  
The people, Lord, the people,  
Not crowns and thrones, but men!"

This solemn cry has found its way to your heart. Your humble ambition is to follow the trail of that mysterious 'Servant of the Eternal,' the despised One Who will never forsake nor lose courage, Isaiah declared, until He shall have established justice upon the earth.

"May Heaven bless you in your noble enthusiasm and in your untiring efforts in behalf of this 'larger hope.' On our globe, bathed in tears and spotted with blood, all of those who in truth confess the Name of the Son of Man, are striving to assist you, Mr. President, by their ardent sympathy, their prayers, because they comprehend the inexpressible significance of this predestined assembly, the Peace Conference.

"All of this has for its final goal the formation of a collective soul for the inhabitants of our planet, the birth of a common moral and spiritual personality for all humanity, in brief, the achievement of the creation of man through his redemption.

"One God, one law, one element,  
And one far-off divine event  
Toward which the whole creation moves."

### SPEECH OF M. CORNELIS DE WITT

Chairman of the French Protestant Relief Committee for the Invaded Regions

"Mr. President, in behalf of the Protestant Relief Committee for the Invaded Regions, I bring you greetings from our Protestant brethren who in France, in Great Britain, in Switzerland, in Belgium, and especially in the United States, have endeavored to bring effectual aid to their co-religionists, to rebuild their houses and their churches destroyed by the enemy and to restore their homes after the sad dispersion brought about by the war. The part taken by your fellow countrymen in this work of relief, has already been ably set forth, and its energetic promoter in the United States, Rev. Dr. Charles Macfarland, has led us to hope that it would be continued. It is our most ardent wish that this work of relief among the Protestants will continue along its present lines and will preserve its international character, contributing to make stronger the bonds which should unite all men of good will in the search for a vital brotherhood!"

### PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY TO THE DELEGATES FROM THE PROTESTANT FEDERATION

"Gentlemen: I thank you for the personal note in your address of welcome. You have uttered words which have touched me profoundly. I am overwhelmed at the confidence which you reposed in me for the task of reconstruction which confronts humanity. I can not be blind to the difficulties. For the way by which we journey toward the goal is encumbered both by ancient prejudice and by modern ambitions.

"Fortunately, I believe in the providence of God. The unaided human intellect is incapable of understanding all of the immense problems which are presented at a single glance on the world horizon. Under such circumstances, if I had not believed in the providence of God I should have felt myself lost in indecisions.

"It is impossible for me to predict what will be the issue of our labors. But I have the unswerving conviction that the final outcome will be good. Under the stress of circumstances when so many complex questions are pressing for decision, the greatest security is always to be found in applying unhesitatingly these first principles in their purity.

"Gentlemen, I thank you. You have encouraged me. Count upon me to bring to the defence of our common ideal, all the moral tenacity of the spirit of the Puritans."

### FOREIGN DELEGATES TO ATTEND CLEVELAND MEETING OF FEDERAL COUNCIL

Invitations have been cabled to the heads of the several national Protestant Church Federations in countries overseas, requesting that delegates be appointed to represent them at the special meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America which will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 6, 7 and 8 this year. These invitations have been sent to England, Switzerland, Holland, France, Belgium and Italy.

The Cleveland meeting will be the first deliberative convention widely representative of American Protestantism following the termination of the war, and will assume international significance by the presence of these delegates from the allied nations.

## America and the League of Nations

By REV. W. W. PINSON

Secretary Board of Missions of the M. E. Church, South.

(Dr. Pinson is the first of the Federal Council's delegation to the Peace Conference to return to America.)

A stay of eight weeks in Europe sends one home with an overwhelming sense of the responsibility of America in the present world crisis. The gratitude of the peoples for what America has already contributed to make the world safe for Democracy, her exhibition of power and efficiency, and of unselfish devotion to the common interests of mankind have given her almost unlimited influence. This brings to her a responsibility she does not shrink. Any talk of coming out of Europe and leaving them to work out their own destiny is futile. We could not do so if we would. Any such talk comes too late. Having spent billions of money and sacrificed a quarter of a million of men, we cannot now creep back behind the Monroe Doctrine and Washington's farewell address, interpreted by the traditions of an antiquated and impossible nationalism. To attempt it would be as politically illogical as it would be morally monstrous.

To one who has been breathing the atmosphere in which the League of Nations is taking form, the spectacle of Americans playing politics with their faces toward the past is a shocking surprise. It was to be expected that a few European statesmen, schooled in the arts of the secret treaty and familiar with the "diplomacy of the back stairs" would oppose the League of Nations. But that men would be found in America who would fling our high ideals of world brotherhood in which we fought and won, to the dump-heap and lead us back to the suffocating levels of small politics, or petty trading, and of calculating self-protection is a discouraging surprise.

Just before leaving France I read an address by Mr. Clemenceau in which he said: "All our plans are based on the splendid platform formulated by President Wilson. In perfect harmony with the principles which he has set up, we are tending toward a more elevated and saner idealism in the conduct of world affairs. Not being animated by any mercenary aspirations, we will join without reserve and with all our heart in this effort to establish a better world where simple justice will exist for all humanity." When the source and substance of this is considered, it presents a

most encouraging contrast to the utterances of some of our American politicians.

I am convinced the League of Nations will go through. It is the one great outstanding thing for which the Allies fought. It is unthinkable that they will now abandon it and betray the hope they created in the heart of the world. There are other reasons why it will go through. The first and most potent of these is Woodrow Wilson. One could not be in Paris at the opening of the Peace Conference, watch the developments, travel among the people, listen to them in private and in public, without the conviction that President Wilson wields an almost invincible power. If anybody on that side still thinks he ought not to have gone to Europe, I failed to see or hear of him. He has a most astonishing hold on the hearts of the people and speaks with the authority of the world's democracy. Indeed, I have heard him called in a public address by an Italian, "The President of the democracies of the world."

This brings me to the second reason why the League of Nations will prevail—the common people. This Peace Conference is not one of kings and potentates, but it is a council of the peoples. America is their champion and Woodrow Wilson is their spokesman. The people are sick of war. They mean to put that nightmare behind them forever. They have pinned their faith to a League that will make a world war impossible. To go back to the old barter in boundaries, secret diplomacy and the old balance of power would crush their hopes. They will not have it—neither Europeans nor Americans.

The third reason is the small nations. They have been pawned and traded and crushed too long. They have seen the dawn of better things. They are thrilled with the hope of being the sharers in right instead of the victims of might. They are making pathetic appeals for justice and the security of their rights. Their plea cannot be despised. To fail them would be to betray the ideals for which we fought and by which we won. Even the contemplation of such a thought makes the heart sick. I am convinced we shall be spared the tragedy of such a crime against mankind.

## Accute Transportation Problem for Chaplains with Army of Occupation

The emergency need of facilities for the transportation of chaplains with our Army in France and Germany came to light in the report of Major James De Wolf Perry, Jr., just returned from France, presented to the General War-Time Commission of the Churches at the meeting of the Executive Committee, Wednesday, March 5th. Bishop Perry stated that the condition which most impeded the work of the chaplains abroad throughout the whole period of the war down to the present time was the absence of adequate transportation. He said this was true even of the Army as well as of the chaplains, but that the Army, while the drive on the German line was at its height, had 40 per cent of the necessary transportation facilities for its work, while the chaplains never had more than 5 per cent for their work. There were times when a chaplain would have to go on foot sixteen miles or more from village to village in order to render a minimum day's service to the three or four units which depended upon him.

The need is even greater now than it was during the period of the

war. As the lines have pushed forward to occupy the German border, the number of detached units is greater and the distance between them increased. Indeed, the immediate need of this service is so urgent as to have warranted the purchase of ten cars for the chaplains on the field, with the confident expectation that the churches through their war-time commissions in this country would supply the necessary funds. The Executive Committee of the General War-Time Commission is, therefore, calling upon the denominational commissions to meet this emergency by contributing to this fund. There ought to be no question about the possibility of raising this money, especially in the light of the emphasis laid upon such needs in the recent appeal for funds through the Interechurh Emergency Campaign. Further detailed information on this subject may be secured from Mr. H. H. Tryon, Assistant Secretary of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. Mr. Tryon will receive gifts from both denominational commissions and individuals for the Chaplains' Emergency Transportation Fund.

### INDIAN FAMINE CONDITIONS WORST IN FORTY YEARS

Urgent appeals to Americans for aid in India have been reaching the Federal Council from Rev. R. A. Hume, senior American missionary to Ahmednagar, India. The Rev. Mr. Hume has been forty-four years in India. During that time he has seen pestilences and famines mow down the inhabitants by hundreds of thousands. But he writes: "I never knew such acute and widespread disaster." Added to the unprecedented scarcity and high cost of foods and materials for

clothing is the spread of a devastating epidemic of influenza. Bread winners of families have been disabled by the disease and their wives and children wander through the streets begging for food.

The Indian Government has opened up various avenues of relief. It is importing rice from Burma; has prohibited the export of grain except to Mesopotamia; has appointed a Controller of food and prices; is opening relief work, etc. But cooperating non-official relief efforts, supplementing Governmental measures, are absolutely necessary. The Government has consented that appeals be sent to Great Britain and America.

## Needs of Army Chaplains Presented to Secretary Baker

### LETTER FROM FEDERAL COUNCIL COMMITTEE AND WAR-TIME COMMISSION AND THE SECRETARY'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Just before his departure from Washington to inspect the Western military reservations, Secretary Baker received from the General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains, through its chairman, Bishop William F. McDowell, a letter urging the organization of a Chaplain Corps for the Army. This memorial was signed also by the officers of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, bodies representing practically all of the Protestant denominations in the United States. This action was taken after conference with Catholic leaders who expressed their sympathy and their intention to present a similar communication to the Secretary of War.

The letter cites the fact that the Chaplains are now the only branch of the service without corps organization, and urges that this be given. It pleads also that adequate recognition of ability and the assurance of promotion be given, in order to increase the effectiveness of the chaplaincy as part of the Army organization.

In his recent visit to America, Bishop Brent stated that the absence of a staff organization on this side for the army chaplains was the most disabling feature of their work. With General Pershing's approval, the Bishop as Senior G. H. Q. Chaplain of the A. E. F., had effected an organization of the 1,300 army chaplains in France that has rendered splendid service.

It is now desired to extend to the whole Army this same idea of organization that prevails with all other branches of the service and which proved so effective for the chaplains in France, so that the representatives of the Church with the soldiers will have equal military footing with the officers of the medical corps and other organized branches of the service.

The letter to Secretary Baker is as follows:

March sixth,  
Nineteen Nineteen

To the Honorable Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. Sir: Speaking in the name of the Protestant Churches of America as represented in the General War-Time Commission of the Churches and the General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains, we beg respectfully to lay before you the following matters as expressing our mature judgment concerning the things which will make for efficiency in the Chaplain Service in the Army:

I. We urge most earnestly upon you as of first importance that in plans for the reorganization of the Army adequate provision be made for a Chaplain Corps in harmony with the general practice of the Army. It is our conviction that this is fundamental if men of the best type are to be attracted to the office of Chaplain as a vocation.

II. We respectfully urge upon you that provision be made at the earliest possible date for promotion of Chaplains on more just terms than at the present in order that Chaplains performing important functions may have made in keeping with their responsibilities and that those serving long and faithfully may have adequate recognition.

III. We earnestly protest against any reduction in the proportion of Chaplains to officers and enlisted men. The Bill "to organize and increase the efficiency of the Regular Army" (H.R. 14500), which we understand to represent the conclusions of the War Department, would have the effect of making the proportion of Chaplains to officers and enlisted men approximately one to two thousand. We believe a grave mistake would be made if the present proportion of one to twelve hundred were decreased.

In bringing the above matters formally to your attention,

First—We beg to submit that experience in the present war has demonstrated the need of organization of the Chaplains. The Chaplain in the days before the war, as a regimental officer, was seldom brought into contact with other Chaplains, and was associated only with the comparatively small number of troops of the command to which he was assigned. It was left to him to devise plans of work as he could, his duties in the Army Regulations being only gen-

erally defined. Not only is he formally recognized by the Government as the head of the religious work for the soldiers of his unit, but with the concentration of troops in the training camps and in the field and with the development of a unique system of welfare work, which one would expect to be continued in some form in the future of the Army, the opportunities and responsibilities of the Chaplain have been greatly enlarged.

Again the need of proper cooperation between all the Chaplains in a given camp or cantonment seems obvious, if their work is to be properly done and confusion and waste of effort avoided. Only through the organization and co-ordination of resources on a scale hitherto undreamed of was the winning of the war made possible. Why should the Chaplain Service in this country be the only unorganized and uncoordinated service in the Army? In France the need of organization was recognized months ago and the Headquarters Board of Chaplains was appointed by General Pershing, but at home where the need was, we believe, equally great, nothing has been done. We are aware that this matter has been under consideration by the War Department and we most earnestly urge that action be taken as speedily as possible looking to the creation of an organization of the Chaplains.

Second—With reference to the questions of promotion we submit, further, that it is a manifest injustice to require a Chaplain to serve seven years as First Lieutenant before being eligible to a Captaincy. We note with pleasure the Memorandum issued by you on January twenty-fifth, authorizing "promotions in the Medical, Chaplain and Other Corps of the Army as are within the Tables of Organization and are necessary to confer rank commensurate with authority exercised or work to be done under such Tables."

We would respectfully inquire whether this would permit promotion of Chaplains up to and including the grade of Colonel. We believe that Chaplains should be eligible to attain this grade and that a fair proportion of Chaplains should be allowed to each grade from First Lieutenant to Colonel. We wish it to be clearly understood, however, that we are not interested in rank for its own sake but because, in any part of the military establishment, for the efficient performance of duty rank must be proportionate to the responsibility involved.

As you are aware, Mr. Secretary, the Churches of America have given freely of many of their ablest ministers to the service of the Army. They have sought through our Committee to cooperate with you in the great work that you have been called to do. They are vitally concerned in the moral and spiritual welfare of the men whom the Chaplains serve. They hope many of the Chaplains who have shown special fitness will apply for Commissions in the permanent Army. They feel, however, that this will be the case only if the Chaplain Service is so organized as to give opportunity for effective work. For this reason they will await with keenest interest whatever statement you may be willing to make in regard to the propositions which we place before you.

Very respectfully yours,  
For  
GENERAL WAR-TIME COMMISSION OF THE CHURCHES  
Robert E. Spear  
Chairman  
William Lawrence  
Vice-Chairman  
Wm. Adams Brown  
Secretary  
Frederick H. Knobel  
John R. Mott

For  
GENERAL COM-MITTEE ON ARMY AND NAVY CHAPLAINS  
Wm. F. McDowell  
Chairman  
Gaylord S. White  
Secretary  
Alfred Harding  
Wallace Radcliffe  
E. O. Watson

For  
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA  
Alfred G. Lawson  
Chairman, Administrative Committee  
Chas. S. Macfarland  
General Secretary

### SECRETARY BAKER'S REPLY WAR DEPARTMENT Washington March 7, 1919

Dear Bishop McDowell: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March third, signed by yourself and your associates in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and making certain specific recommendations with reference to the place of the chaplains in the permanent organization of the Army. These suggestions are most welcome at the present time, as we are engaged upon a general study of Army organization, and I can assure you for them a most careful consideration.

Cordially yours,  
NEWTON D. BAKER,  
Secretary of War.  
Bishop William F. McDowell,  
937 Woodward Building,  
Washington, D. C.

The fate of the people of India at this critical time rests with them. The need is greater than has ever been known before. Not only is food scarce, but it is much more expensive than it has been during any previous time of famine. And material for clothing for the poor is of such worthless quality and exorbitant cost, that much suffering has been endured from need of proper garments.

Rev. Mr. Hume likens India in her eager appeal to America for aid, to the Syro-Phoenician woman who besought our Lord for healing. "Even the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table."

# MAGAZINES AND BOOKS

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Extracts from Current Publications Discussing Many Phases of  
League of Nations Movement

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March 29, 1919.

"A League of Nations with a spine," Gerald Stanley Lee writes in *THE SATURDAY EVENING POST* of March 22, "would be safer, more practical and more inspiring than a vast international polyp—a kind of general protoplasm of peoples so vague and so weak and washy that Senator Borah would not be afraid of it—a kind of water color or pastel of a League of Nations that Senator Borah would know would not be able to hurt Idaho or America."

There is danger, Mr. Lee tells us, that a certain type of highbrow from every nation will get into the League and begin "making eyes at the plain people they feel so superior to," and the highbrows, he declares, do not understand the plain people. They feel that the general disposition of the plain people to like spines in nations is anything but refined.

"Is the League going to have the temperament of the typical highbrow," Mr. Lee wants to know, "or is it going to have the temperament of the man who is so human and so alive that it never occurs to him or to anybody whether his brow is high or not?"

"The fate of the world—the fate of getting states and nations to get together the way towns do—turns from now on on the plain people of all nations seeing to it that the League is placed in the hands of men who personalize and humanize what they think; men who make into pictures what they want; men who do not feel coarse and impolite for having spines and for having nations look as if they had spines; men who as a matter of course when they want a thing for the plain people connect it up with motors in themselves and in others until they get it."

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A popular objection to the proposed Paris Covenant relates to secession from the League, and it is argued that the United States will be bound always to remain a member. "But such rights of secession as any honorable nation would desire to assert are fully protected," Louis F. Post states in *THE PUBLIC* of March 22. "For an act of Congress could take the United States out of the League at any time. Nor would its doing so be dishonorable if there were honorable reasons for it. Shall we demand a secession clause in order to secede dishonorably?"

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*THE PUBLIC* also publishes the official text of the proposed Paris Covenant, followed by an interesting analysis of the document, prepared by Mr. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor.

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*THE OUTLOOK* of March 19, in a review of popular discussion of the League of Nations, reminds Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of another of those inconsistencies which, the Senator declares, are "harmless in moderation."

Discussing the present attitude of the next Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, THE OUTLOOK points out that during the Santo Domingo affair in 1906 Senator Lodge was one of a group which looked with equanimity upon a complete divorce of the Senate and the President in treaty-making. In a debate at that time he quoted approvingly President Madison's statement that he could recognize no committee of the Senate—that his relations were exclusively with the Senate.

In discussing the President's treaty-making power to-day, however, Senator Lodge is not quoting Mr. Madison nor even Mr. Roosevelt. He has made up a new list.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC, in its issue of March 22, publishes as a supplement "The Political Scene," by Walter Lippmann, which describes the closing phases of the war, the struggle for peace and the era ahead.

Mr. Lippmann says: "The Allied conference in Paris began in January to build peace in the only way that it could be built. Faced with a world in which government had disappeared over immense areas, in which the old diplomatic system was ruined, the statesmen were forced to start in by creating the tool with which peace could be administered. They knew that there are no final solutions to be had just now. A rigid treaty of peace cannot be written when there is no stable government anywhere east of the Rhine. No man knows what Germany is to be, nor Russia, nor the twenty odd nationalities of Eastern Europe and Nearer Asia. No man can possibly foresee, not even Mr. James Beck, what adjustments will be required in the years ahead; none can predict what revolution will do to the process and method of trade, nor does anyone know what will be the movements of immigration, or the condition of capital, or the character and policies of any government five years hence. There is a world-wide regrouping in progress. It cannot be controlled by agreement alone. It requires a continuing series of decisions, and a machinery for executing them, and that is the essence of the League of Nations."

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The League of Nations, Samuel Spring writes in THE DIAL of March 22, reveals the same attitude of opportunism as is found in the British Empire. Like the French, he tells us, Americans yearn for a complete, definite system of government covering every possible contingency. But the English doctrine of opportunism is to entrust as much as possible to time and experience; the future is to be trusted, not dreaded; we are not the dictators of posterity.

"Surely," Mr. Spring suggests, "when we consider the great chaos before us and the overwhelming necessity of some sort of international unity that will make it possible for humanity to survive, we can find solace and hope in the enduring success of English opportunism."

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW for March publishes the first of a series of articles by Professor Gilbert Murray, discussing the Constitution of the League. The present paper, which was written in October, prior to the signing of the armistice, deals principally with the problem of correlating the authority of the League as a whole with the sovereignty, or the natural desire of self-government, of the constituent nations.



GOOD NEWS FOR FISK UNIVERSITY—See Next Cover Page.

# Fisk University News

VOL. IX., No. 7.

MARCH, 1919

NASHVILLE, TENN.

PRESERVE THIS COPY OF THE NEWS

## The Proposed Constitution of the League of Nations

Is Published Herein



To understand the objections being pressed so sharply against the proposed Constitution of the League it is necessary to have that document available for study and reference.

It is the duty of every citizen to make  
serious efforts to understand all  
of the issues involved

# Fisk Receives \$100,000

THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD  
and THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION

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Have each offered Fisk University \$50,000, a total of \$100,000, payable in four annual installments of \$12,500, to meet the current expenses of the University, on condition that the University raise in cash and pledges a third \$50,000, or \$12,500 per year.

The University has been given \$10,000 by one Southern friend, Mr. Thos. P. Norris, of Guthrie, Ky., and is offered \$22,000 by two friends in the North—\$12,000 by Mr. Paul D. Cravath, of New York, and \$10,000 by Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago. The remaining \$18,000, or \$4,500 per year must come from other sources before the school year closes.

Our friends will enable us to secure the total amount of \$150,000, so essential to the continuance of our work, by sending us at once their gifts, in large or small amounts, or by filling in the pledge below and sending it at once to the President of the University.

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1919.

THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION AND THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD having each agreed to donate \$12,500 a year for four years to FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, on condition that the University procure, from other sources, donations and pledges averaging another \$12,500 for each year, or a total of \$50,000 in cash and pledges, I will pay to FISK UNIVERSITY (if this condition shall be met in full) the sum of

----- DOLLARS

payable.....

**Do It Today.** -----

# Fisk University News

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Vol. IX.

NASHVILLE, TENN., MARCH, 1919.

No. 7.

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Published monthly by Fisk University. Entered as second-class matter July 26, 1910, at the postoffice at Nashville, Tenn., under the act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance of mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, and authorized on August 20, 1918. Subscription, Fifty Cents the Year.

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## EDITORIAL STAFF:

ISAAC FISHER,  
University Editor.

FAYETTE AVERY MCKENZIE,  
President of the University.

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Changes of name or address, and dates of deaths of Alumni and other friends, should be promptly reported in *writing* to the office of the News.

Fisk University News is published in the interest of Fisk University. Address all communications to Editor "Fisk University News."

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## EDITORIAL.

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### CLOSE THE BOOK! PROVOST MARSHAL-GENERAL CROWDER, SPEAKING FOR UNITED STATES, OFFICIALLY RECORDS THE NEGRO'S PART IN WORLD-WAR.

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During the great war which has but recently closed the FISK NEWS studiously refrained from recording any of the many individual estimates of the Negro soldier in the army; but not because THE NEWS and Fisk University were not interested in the subject. This journal was waiting for the official testimony of someone who had the right to speak for the Government of the United States—testimony to which in future years the student of history may be pointed with no fear that the evidence so adduced can be possibly impeached because the officer so giving it had not the right to speak. THE NEWS wanted not a record of a particular company or division of Negro troops in a particular engagement of the war, although the historian must note each one of these; but it wanted for Negroes all over the United States, for Negro men and women, for Negro boys and girls of the land, one comprehensive survey of their race as a whole in its attitude toward this country's war to help liberate the world.

More than this, THE NEWS wanted such official testimony as to the Negro's part in the war as would justify the Government in doing what would be a very little act of appreciation on its part, but what would mean a great, great deal to millions of colored people who love

this nation and pray daily for its peace. A little explanation is in order here: The Government publishes a series of catalogues of pamphlets and documents which it offers for sale to the public. The price lists cover a wide range of topics, such as Foreign Relations, American History and Biography, Insects, Finance, Education, Political Science, and a long list of other subjects. The editor of THE NEWS has been, through a long period of years, a reader of these document price lists; and ever since the bitter day when the "Brownsville Affair" caused a number of colored soldiers to be discharged dishonorably from the army of the United States, he has grieved because (1) Negro soldiers had violated laws; and (2) the Government of the United States, in spite of the Negro's otherwise splendid military record, sanctioned the policy of omitting from the record every meritorious act of the Negro soldier and recording the Brownsville "black mark" against his race in uniform. If one will turn to PRICE LIST 19, on the ARMY AND MILITIA, the catalogue which deals with the military forces of our Government, he will discover that when he looks for the record of the colored soldiers he will find under the title "Colored Troops" the cross reference: "See Brownsville Affray"; and when he turns to that subject, he will find the documents which contain the record of the whole Brownsville affair; but nowhere in the catalogue is there a word to indicate that the colored soldier has ever done anything of which his country is proud.

This may seem a little matter, but it is not so. The investigator who is not familiar with all of the publications of the Government will turn naturally to this official catalogue, issued by the Government, when he seeks information about the colored man as a soldier; and when he notes the fact that "white soldiers" are not listed but finds that "colored soldiers" are recorded, he is likely to conclude that these latter have been either unusually fine or unusually ignoble. But if he examines the sordid record of Brownsville—sordid for white people and sordid for black people—he is likely to conclude that the Negro soldier is not a valuable asset to the Republic. *The net result of the singling out of the Negro soldier as one to be judged universally and forever by one act which damaged his record is to place the Government of the United States in the position of seeking consciously to suppress the Negro's more glorious record in battle and in the uniform of his country; and to prejudice public sentiment and history against him by indicating that the only thing worthy of note in the history of the black soldier in the United States is the account of the violation of law by certain colored soldiers in one of the states.*

I do not believe that my Government wishes to take such an attitude before the world.

The matter is vital to the student of history in Harvard University in Massachusetts, and in Vanderbilt University in Tennessee; to the

seeker after truth in Oxford in England, and in the University of Berlin; in Cornell University in New York, and in Fisk University at this place. There are white students of history in the University of Virginia who want the truth about the Negro soldier, for some of them will write history. There are white students of history in Yale who want to know the truth about the Negro as a soldier, for some of them will write history. There are Negro students who want to know the truth about the Negro soldier, for they want to help point their race to highest patriotism. Across the seas men want to know what our Government thinks of its colored fighters. When all of these turn to the records of our Government they will expect—they, for posterity's sake, will have the right to expect—"the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth"; and if our Government print any guides on the subject, they should point impartially to that "whole truth."

The man who devised the scheme under which the man-power of the American nation was drafted for war-service and who mobilized our army, Provost Marshal-General Enoch H. Crowder, has placed into the military records of the United States that comprehensive survey of the Negro's attitude toward the late war for which THE NEWS has been waiting. (Second report of the Provost Marshal-General, 1919.) It makes a man proud of his Government. If we can keep these findings from being buried in that report, future historians will be aided, a whole race group encouraged, and the Government itself honored.

I am willing to "let the dead past bury its dead." I am not inclined to raise the inquiry, "Why was Brownsville?" There is no need to inquire whether intemperate action of white people and black people were responsible for the outbreak of Negro troops at Brownsville and at Houston—whether race friction rather than innate lawlessness caused the blot upon the Negro's record and the good name of the two cities. It will serve no good purpose to inquire why the world's attention is called specifically, in a Government catalogue, to a regrettable violation of law by certain colored soldiers and the same course not followed in the case of other soldiers. The Negro cannot plead effectively for consideration and strictest fair play if he violates law; and he must learn this bitter lesson, bitter though it is. I am not asking that white soldiers who engage in riot be written down to infamy in the Government's catalogue, by having their evil deeds catalogued conspicuously and their virtues hidden under a bushel—I desire evil for no man nor group of men. I am willing, if that be the American practice and its conception of equity, that whenever a Negro does wrong that it shall be placed against his record to the end of time, and sent to the four corners of the earth, and that such a course shall not be followed in the case of any other race; for if such pressure be applied to the Negro for about 200 years, he will become the most law-abiding, the most circumspect, the most highly civilized man on the globe.

Heart-breaking as the practice is, I am not afraid of its ultimate results for the Negro. I do not want to change history. I am perfectly willing that Brownsville and everything else not to the Negro's credit be written into the Government's record of her Negro soldiers and citizens, provided—

(1) *That the report of Provost Marshal-General Crowder be written in the same catalogue; and (2) that anything else that is to the credit of the Negro soldier, or that may occur to his credit hereafter—any other testimony or evidence given by Government officers be written under the phrase, "Colored Troops"—be also written in the Government's catalogue.*

Somehow, I believe that some person in authority who wants that history shall be accurately written and who is jealous for the honor of our Government will want that the *virtues* of the colored soldier about whom the Provost Marshal-General writes so generously, shall be recorded in the Government's catalogue alongside of the *defects*, the "*black marks*," against him, to which the catalogue so generously calls attention.

Let us hear, now, the report of the man who engineered the draft of soldiers of the United States in the European War—the Provost Marshal-General, Enoch H. Crowder—as he pays tribute to—

#### "THE NEGRO IN RELATION TO THE DRAFT."

That officer has written as follows:

The part that has been played by the Negro in the great world drama upon which the curtain is now about to fall is but another proof of the complete unity of the various elements that go to make up this great nation. Passing through the sad and rigorous experience of slavery; ushered into a sphere of civil and political activity where he was to match his endeavors with those of his former masters still embittered by defeat; gradually working his way toward the achievement of success that would enable both him and the world to justify his new life of freedom; surrounded for over half a century of his new life by the specter of that slavery through which he had for centuries past laboriously toiled; met continuously by the prejudices born of tradition; still the slave, to a large extent, of superstition fed by ignorance—in the light of this history, some doubt was felt and expressed, by the best friends of the Negro, when the call came for a draft upon the man-power of the nation, whether he would possess sufficient stamina to measure up to the full duty of citizenship, and would give to the Stars and Stripes, that had guaranteed for him the same liberty now sought for all nations and all races, the response that was its due. And, on the part of many of the leaders of the Negro race, there was apprehension that the sense of fair play and fair dealing, which is so

essentially an American characteristic, would not, nay could not, in a country of such diversified views, with sectional feeling still slumbering but not dead, be meted out to the members of the colored race.

How groundless such fears, how ill considered such doubts, may be seen from the statistical record of the draft with relation to the Negro. His race furnished its quota, and uncomplainingly, yes, cheerfully. History, indeed, will be unable to record the fullness of his spirit in the war, for the reason that opportunities for enlistment were not opened to him to the same extent as to the whites. But enough can be gathered from the records to show that he was filled with the same feeling of patriotism, the same martial spirit, that fired his white fellow citizen in the cause for world freedom.

As a general rule, he was fair in his dealings with draft officials; and in the majority of cases, having the assistance of his white employers, he was able to present fairly such claims for deferment or discharge as he may have had, for the consideration of the various draft boards. In consequence, there appears to have been no racial discrimination made in the determination of his claims. Indeed, the proportion of claims granted to claims filed by members of the Negro race compare favorably with the proportion of claims granted to members of the white race.

That the men of the colored race were as ready to serve as their white neighbors is amply proved by the reports from the local boards. A Pennsylvania board, remarking upon the eagerness of its colored registrants to be inducted, illustrated this by the action of one registrant, who, upon learning that his employer had had him placed upon the Emergency Fleet list, quit his job. Another registrant, who was believed by the board to be above draft age, insisted that he was not, and, in stating that he was not married, explained that he "wanted only one war at a time."

The following descriptions from Oklahoma and Arkansas boards are typical, the first serving to perpetuate one of the best epigrams of the war:

We tried to treat the Negroes with exactly the same consideration as was shown the whites. We had the same speakers to address them. The Rotary Club presented them with small silk flags, as they did the whites. The band turned out to escort them to the train. And the Negroes went to camp with as cheerful a spirit as did the white men. One of them when asked if he were going to France, said, "No, sir, I'se not gwine *to* France. I'se gwine *through* France."

In dealing with the Negroes, the Southern boards gained a richness of experience that is without parallel. No other class of citizens was more loyal to the Government, or more ready to answer the country's call. The only blot upon their military record was the great number of delinquents among the more ignorant; but in the majority of cases this was traced to an ignorance of the regulations, or to the withholding of mail by the landlord (often himself an aristocratic slacker) in order to retain the man's labor.

On October 1, 1917, in order that there might be no question of the full protection of the rights of the Negroes, and that thorough examination might be made into all matters affecting their relation to the war and its many agencies, there was announced the appointment of Emmett J. Scott as special assistant to the Secretary of War. Having been for eighteen years confidential secretary to the late Booker T. Washington, and being at the time of his appointment secretary of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute for Negroes, he was peculiarly fitted to render necessary advice to the War Department with respect to colored people of the various states, to look after all matters affecting the interests of Negro selectives and enlisted men, and to inquire into the treatment accorded them by the various officials connected with the War Department. In the position occupied by him, the special assistant to the Secretary of War was thus enabled to obtain a proper perspective both of the attitude of selective service officials to the Negro, and of the Negro to the war, and especially to the draft. As the representative of his race, his expressions, therefore, have great weight. In a memorandum addressed to this office, on the subject of the relation of the Negro to the war and especially to the draft, on December 12, 1918, he wrote:

The attitude of the Negro to the war, and especially to the draft, was one of complete acceptance to the draft; in fact, of an eagerness to accept its terms. There was a deep resentment in many quarters that he was not permitted to *volunteer*, as white men, by the thousands, were permitted to do in connection with National Guard units and other branches of military service which were closed to colored men. One of the brightest chapters in the whole history of the war is the Negro's eager acceptance of the draft and his splendid willingness to fight. His only resentment was due to the limited extent to which he was allowed to join and participate in combatant or "fighting" units. The number of colored draftees accepted for military duty, and the comparatively small number of them claiming exemptions, as compared with the total number of white and colored men called and drafted, presents an interesting study and reflects much credit upon this racial group.

Many influences were brought to bear upon the Negro to evade his duty to the Government. Some effort in certain sections of the country was made to induce them not to register. That the attempt to spread German propaganda was a miserable failure may be seen from the statement of the Chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice to the United States Senate committee:

The Negroes didn't take to these stories, however, as they were too loyal. Money spent in the South for propaganda was thrown away.

Then, too, these evil influences were more than offset by the various publicity and "promotion of morale" measures carried on through the office of the special assistant to the Secretary of War, and his assist-



ants: Correspondence was kept up with influential Negroes all over the country. Letters, circulars, and news items for the purpose of effecting and encouraging the continued loyalty of the Negro citizens were regularly issued to the various papers comprising both the white and Negro press. A special committee of 100 colored speakers was appointed to deliver public patriotic addresses all over the country, under the auspices of the Committee on Public Information, stating the war aims of the Government and seeking to keep unbroken the spirit of loyalty of colored American citizens. A special conference of Negro editors was called to meet in Washington in June, 1918, under the auspices of the Committee on Public Information, in order to gather and disseminate the thought and public opinion of the various leaders of the Negro race. Such has been only a part of the work of the department of the special assistant to the Secretary of War in the record of the marshaling of the man power of the American nation.

The appreciation of this representative of the colored race for the coöperation shown by the Selective Service administration, especially as it affected members of the colored race, in reference to occasional complaints received, will appear from the following extract from a memorandum written to this office on September 12 by the special assistant to the Secretary of War:

Throughout my tenure here I have keenly appreciated the prompt and cordial coöperation of the Provost Marshal-General's office with that particular section of the office of the Secretary of War especially referred to herein. The Provost Marshal-General's office has carefully investigated and has furnished full and complete reports in each and every complaint or case referred to it for attention, involving discrimination, race prejudice, erroneous classification of draftees, etc., and has rectified these complaints whenever it was found, upon investigation, that there was just ground for the same. Especially in the matter of applying and carrying out the selective service regulations, the Provost Marshal-General's office has kept a watchful eye upon certain local exemption boards which seemed disinclined to treat Negro draftees on the same basis as other Americans subject to the draft law. It is an actual fact that in a number of instances, where flagrant violations have occurred in the application of the draft law to Negro men in certain sections of the country, local exemption boards have been removed bodily and new boards have been appointed to supplant them. In several instances these new boards so appointed have been ordered by the Provost Marshal-General to reclassify colored men who had been unlawfully conscripted into the army or who had been wrongfully classified; as a result of this action hundreds of colored men have had their complaints remedied and have been properly reclassified.

It is also valuable to note the opinion of this representative of the colored race as to the results of the Negroes' participation in the war:

In a word, I believe that the Negro's participation in the war, his eagerness to serve, and his great courage and demonstrated valor across the seas, have given him a new idea of *Americanism* and like-

wise have given to the white people of our country a new idea of his citizenship, his real character and capabilities, and his 100 per cent Americanism. Incidentally the Negro has been helped in many ways, physically and mentally, and has been made into an even more satisfactory asset to the nation.

Concluding this summary, the Provost Marshal-General discussed, in another place in his report, the subject—

#### REPORTED DESERTIONS, BY COLOR, COMPARED.

Of the 474,861 reported deserters, 369,030 are white registrants, and 105,831 are colored registrants; the ratio of white reported deserters to white registrants being 3.86, and the ratio of colored reported deserters to colored registrants being 9.81. Table 76 shows the figures in detail; in Appendix Table 76-A, the variances in the several states are given.

TABLE 76.—*Reported desertions, by color, compared.*

Reported desertions, by color, compared.		Number.	Per cent of total desertions.	Per cent of desertions by color.
1	Total colored and white registrants, June 5, 1917, to Sept. 11, 1918.....	10,640,846	100.00	.....
2	Total reported desertions .....	474,861	4.46	.....
3	Total colored registrants .....	1,078,331	.....	100.00
4	Reported desertions .....	105,831	.99	9.81
5	Total white registrants .....	9,562,515	.....	100.00
6	Reported desertions .....	369,030	3.47	3.86

These figures of reported desertions, however, lose their significance when the facts behind them are studied. There is in the files of this office a series of letters from governors and draft executives of Southern States, called forth by inquiry for an explanation of the large percentage of Negroes among the reported deserters and delinquents. With striking unanimity the draft authorities replied that this was due to two causes; first, ignorance and illiteracy, especially in the rural regions, to which may be added a certain shiftlessness in ignoring civic obligations; and secondly, the tendency of the Negroes to shift from place to place. The natural inclination to roam from one employment to another has been accentuated by unusual demands for labor incident to the war, resulting in a considerable flow of colored men to the North and to various munition centers. This shifting reached its height in the summer of 1917, shortly after the first registration,

and resulted in the failure of many men to keep in touch with their local boards, so that questionnaires and notices to report did not reach them.

With equal unanimity the draft executives report that the amount of willful delinquency or desertion has been almost nil. Several describe the strenuous efforts of Negroes to comply with the regulations, when the requirements were explained to them, many registrants traveling long distances to report in person to the adjutant-general of the state. The conviction resulting from these reports is that the colored men as a whole responded readily and gladly to their military obligations once their duties were understood.

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I am proud that this officer had the courage to write this into his report if the praise was merited. It strengthens me in two ways: When I preach to my people patriotism and loyalty to this Government—as so often I try to do—I want to be able to say to my group: “See what a fine attitude your country takes toward you”; and my group, I have found, are increasingly willing to listen to exhortations about the colored man’s duty when I do not have to make so many apologies for my Government and fellow-countrymen.

In the next place, I can say again and again to “my” soldiers: “The Government has given you a high endorsement. See to it that you keep that record clean.”

We shall find that we can follow a worse policy than to stand up occasionally “in the meeting” and tell even the colored people that we are no more afraid to tell the truth about their merits than we are to sound the trumpet when they do wrong.

ISAAC FISHER.



## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

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The sharp discussion which the publication of the proposed constitution for a League of Nations has provoked in the United States presses that subject to the fore, and makes it easily the most important subject for study and discussion before the American people.

Whatever course is followed, the formation of a League of Nations, including the United States; the formation of such a society of nations excluding this country; or the total defeat of the whole movement, will profoundly affect the history of all nations—of all mankind—hereafter. As President McKenzie remarked in the first lecture on the subject he gave to the students of Fisk University: "The last five years, and particularly the fifth, in which we are now living, bid fair to be recognized by all future ages as the great turning point in history. The fate of all succeeding time lies bound up with the fate of the proposed League of Nations. It is a wonderful privilege to live and to share in the thinking of so tremendous a time."

With these premises before us, it is easy to understand why each American citizen should and ought to make himself intelligent on the general subject. The proposed covenant was published sometime ago; but it is not likely that our readers expected such sharp assaults to be made against certain sections of that document, and preserved their copies.

Under a sense of public duty, therefore, THE NEWS is publishing the proposed constitution so that its provisions may be easily consulted during the fierce clashes of opinion on the subject, which have already forced themselves on the attention of the country.

### TEXT OF WORLD-LEAGUE COVENANT.

Paris, France, February 14.—The executive council of the proposed League of Nations, as outlined in the covenant read by President Wilson today, will consist of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, with representatives of four other states. The covenant reads as follows:

#### COVENANT.

Preamble.—In order to promote international coöperation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law, as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous

respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized people with one another, the powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations:

ARTICLE I.

The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an executive council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the league.

ARTICLE II.

Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the league. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the league or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE III.

The executive council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other states, members of the league. The selection of these four states shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other states, representatives of (blank left for names) shall be members of the executive council.

ARTICLE IV.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the executive council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the executive council and may be decided by a majority of the states represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and the executive council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V.

The permanent secretariat of the league shall be established at (blank), which shall constitute the seat of the league. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a secretary-general of the league, who shall be chosen by the executive council; the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary-general subject to confirmation by the executive council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the states members of the league in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE VI.

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the league when engaged in the business of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities and the buildings occupied by the

league or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extra territoriality.

#### ARTICLE VII.

Admission to the league of states not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol as states to be invited to adhere to the covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the states represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No state shall be admitted to the league unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the military forces and armaments.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armament to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common consent of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each state; and the executive council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction.

The executive council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the executive council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the executive council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of these countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

#### ARTICLE IX.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the league on the execution of the provisions of Article Eight and on military and naval questions generally.

#### ARTICLE X.

The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all states, members of the league. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the executive council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

#### ARTICLE XI.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the league, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

## ARTICLE XII.

The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the executive council, and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the executive council; and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the league which complies with the award of arbitration or the recommendation of the executive council.

## ARTICLE XIII.

The high contracting parties, whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable to arbitration, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award, the executive council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

## ARTICLE XIV.

The executive council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for the submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

## ARTICLE XV.

If there should arise between states members of the league any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the executive council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary-general, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the secretary-general, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the executive council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendations which the council thinks just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the reason. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the priv-

ilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The executive council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In any case referred to the body of delegates all the provisions of this article and of Article Twelve relating to the action and powers of the executive council shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

#### ARTICLE XVI.

Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII it shall thereby ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the league, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not.

It shall be the duty of the executive council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league.

#### ARTICLE XVII.

In the event of disputes between one state member of the league and another state which is not a member of the league the high contracting parties agree that the state or states not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the executive council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the league.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of the league which in the case of a state member of the league would constitute a breach of Article XII, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purpose of such dispute, the executive council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

#### ARTICLE XVIII.

The high contracting parties agree that the league shall be entrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

#### ARTICLE XIX.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which for-



merly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the wellbeing and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the league.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatory on behalf of the league.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development which their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical continuity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned, in the interests of the indigenous population.

#### ARTICLE XX.

The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the league a permanent bureau of labor.

#### ARTICLE XXI.

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the league to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all states members of the league, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

#### ARTICLE XXII.

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the league of international bureaus general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the league.

#### ARTICLE XXIII.

The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any state member of the league shall be forthwith registered with the secretary-general, and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

## ARTICLE XXIV.

It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by states members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

## ARTICLE XXV.

The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the league shall, before coming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

## ARTICLE XXVI.

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the states whose representatives compose the executive council and by three-fourths of the states whose representatives compose the body of delegates.



## PRINCETON TO MAKE ENTRANCE SIMPLER.

LIBERALIZATION OF REQUIREMENTS IS ANNOUNCED AT ALUMNI DAY CEREMONIES.—DR. HIBBEN DECORATED.—CROSS OF LEGION OF HONOR PRESENTED TO PRESIDENT FOR WORK IN THE WAR.

A radical modification of the curriculum such as would make the entrance requirements to Princeton more liberal, and the establishment throughout the West and South of regional scholarships which would give the university a more national representation, were the outstanding features of the address of President John Grier Hibben at the Princeton annual Alumni Day luncheon. In the morning President Hibben was decorated by the French Government with the Cross of the Legion of Honor. The decoration was presented in the name of France by Captain Paul de Fourmestraux, an instructor at the university during the period of military training. The ceremony took place in the faculty room of "Old North" at Princeton, and Dr. Hibben in a short address thanked Captain Fourmestraux for the honor.

After warning the alumni against the danger of losing themselves in contemplation "either of the heritage which has been our birthright or the glory which has come to Princeton through the courage and devotion of her sons in the great World War," the president urged that the university assume the same role in the coming days of peace as in the days of war, and he pointed out the necessity of an insight which would penetrate the surface of things and reveal the obligation of every young American to understand the problems which bear directly upon his country's welfare.

## NEED TO SEE IN FUTURE.

"It is necessary for us to be keenly alive to the possibilities at this time of the natural growth and expansion of the university," he said. "I do not mean merely growth in numbers, but growth in power and influence. Before the war we had plans for a campaign to secure increased endowment of the resources of the university. The interruption of the war made it necessary for us to set aside those plans. We expect, however, to undertake their realization at once. In our desire for both the extensive and intensive growth of the university we feel the necessity of appealing for assistance, not merely to the alumni of Princeton, but to the many friends of Princeton who have had an interest in our history, both of earlier times and of latter days, and who have faith in the ideals for which we stand.

"In the program of our development we have noted particularly the necessity for increased endowment for professorships and increase of professional salaries; the enlargement of our preceptorial method of

teaching (which is Princeton's most distinctive and valuable pedagogical feature); a fund which will supply remission of tuition to all students who cannot afford to pay our tuition charges; the establishment throughout the West and the South of regional scholarships which will give us an even more national representation; the increase of our library equipment; provision for a new laboratory and adequate equipment training in chemistry and its various branches, technical and industrial, as stimulated by the advance of chemistry due to the war; the development of our engineering school; the development of the new school of architecture; development of astronomical research; the extension of McCosh Hall to give more room for recitation and lecture work; and the erection of a new dormitory which will enable us to carry out our fundamental policy of housing all undergraduates on the campus, a vital necessity to preserve the chief characteristics of our Princeton life. With this external development we are planning a very radical modification of our present curriculum of such a nature that our present freshman and sophomore studies may be more flexible and our entrance requirements more liberal.

#### TO OPEN DOORS TO ALL.

"We wish if possible to open the doors of Princeton to all types of men whose preparation is of such a nature as to make them worthy of the privileges of a university education. We wish the studies of the freshman and sophomore years to be of such a nature as to create in the minds of our entering students at once the impression that they are entering into a new intellectual atmosphere which shall stimulate a spirit of inquiry and of daily devotion to their tasks. I am particularly anxious that the minds of our young men at the very beginning of their freshman year should be awakened so that they may immediately experience the glow of creative energy as they go about the mastering of their tasks.

"My ambition for Princeton is that we may be able to hold our young men to the standard of work which they not only gladly but efficiently performed in the months while they were preparing for war service upon our campus. We must make every effort to conserve this spirit of intensive concentrated application to the immediate work of each day; the spirit of eagerness to know and to be properly equipped for the task ahead; the spirit of patriotic devotion through which men are stimulated by the idea that their country needed them in the hours of preparation; the spirit of readiness to sacrifice pleasure and ease and the joy of living to the serious task which is one's immediate duty."

Dr. Hibben closed with a tribute to the 125 Princeton men who had died in service, lauding them as men who had fought for liberty "which frees one from all that is evil and base and ignoble, and enables one usefully to serve his day and generation."—*New York Times*.

It is interesting to note the similarity to Fisk University ideals, set up by Dr. Hibben—*i. e.*, supervised study; constant, intensive and concentrated study; and the sacrifice of pleasure to that end.

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## DEPARTMENT OF LABOR HOLDS IMPORTANT INFORMAL CONFERENCE.

WELFARE AND PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATIONS SEEKING TO ADVANCE NEGRO  
WELFARE RESPOND TO CALL ISSUED BY DIRECTOR OF NEGRO ECONOMICS.  
SECRETARY OF LABOR AND OTHER OFFICIALS SPEAK.

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February 17 and 18 were red-letter days for the interest of Negro wage-earners when an informal conference of about forty-five welfare boards, agencies and organizations dealing with Negro life met in Washington upon the invitation of the Secretary of Labor, issued through the Director of Negro Economics, Dr. George E. Haynes. The director, presided at the sessions.

The keynote of the conference was sounded by the secretary, the Hon. W. B. Wilson, in welcoming the representatives. He said in part: "The Department of Labor is the newest of the ten executive departments of the Government. Its duty is to promote the welfare of wage-earners and advance their opportunities for profitable employment. Congress, in defining the duties of the Department of Labor, made no distinction either as to sex or race, and I may add, as to previous condition of servitude. We were authorized to promote the welfare of wage-earners, whether men or women or children, whether they were white or colored, whether they were native born or alien residents; and in undertaking to promote the welfare of wage-workers we have not assumed that it was our duty to promote the welfare of the wage-worker at the expense of the plans of the community, but to promote the welfare of the wage-worker, having due respect to the rights of all the other portions of our population." This sentiment was also voiced by the assistant secretary, Hon. Louis F. Post, in opening the conference, when he said: "It is the function of the Department of Labor to look after the interests of all wage-earners of any race, any age or either sex." In opening the discussion, the Director of Negro Economics said: "We have invited men and women from the North and South, both Negroes and whites, in order that we may hear from both sections and both races."

(EDITOR'S NOTE: President McKenzie was one of the speakers at the conference of welfare workers, referred to above; and his address appears on the next page.)

## SURVEY OF CONDITIONS AS A BASIS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PLANS OF WORK.

By PRESIDENT F. A. MCKENZIE.

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As a subtopic of the more general topic of "Lines of work which should be undertaken for improving race relations and conditions of Negro workers," this subject carries certain implications which are so self-evident that they scarcely need mention or enumeration.

In the first place, it is a truism and yet not really a commonplace that we must know the elements of any social problem before we can hope to solve it. During the war even more than before the war, there has been a tendency to act upon the text of the commercial traveler who, when asked why he gave one day a week to social work, justified himself by quoting that verse of the Book of Isaiah which follows the last verse of its concluding chapter, where it says, "For God's sake, do something!" Splendid as is the spirit which lies back of such a program, it is not the spirit of the social worker, the social statesman. Unguided devotion and enthusiasm are not sufficient to solve social problems. They require the utmost intelligence and the most complete information which hard thinking and hard work can bring us. And race relations involve problems of the utmost delicacy and difficulty, requiring the very best which the social worker can supply.

2. Understanding the "survey" to represent a method of securing the information upon which an intelligent policy may be based, it is also evident that that survey must be adequate, that is thorough, comprehensive, and complete. Too many of the numerous social surveys of the last decade have either led nowhere or they have led in the wrong direction.

3. To be adequate, the survey must be guided by a worker or workers trained and capable and interpreted by the same type of worker.



Coming closer to our special problem, we have to inquire wherein conditions, environmental conditions affect race relations. In the first place, just a casual consideration will bring to mind the fact that in so far as environing conditions are such as to reduce the health and vitality of either or both groups, the probabilities of satisfactory relationships are correspondingly reduced. Bad living conditions are reflected in bad and biased thinking. Groups living under different conditions judge each other without due allowance for the influence of those conditions, and consequently misjudge each other.

In the second place, because to a large extent living conditions are socially determined, bad conditions engender ill-will, and their removal tends to the development of good will.

To be still more concrete: The living conditions of the American Negro are frequently, if not always, such as to lessen his vitality, shorten his life, and embitter him in his feelings toward the social group that tolerates the conditions. Of course, we do not in this summarization overlook the fact that the Negroes have a considerable share of responsibility for some of the evils which they individually and collectively suffer. Neither time nor need requires us at this time to apportion the degrees of responsibility. All that is necessary is that we recognize the existence of an evil, and place the responsibility upon all those in both races who know and have any power to eliminate or even to reduce that evil.

In passing, it may not be unwise to point out that the evil we are directly combatting is an evil affecting both races, although reacting so adversely upon the relationships of the two as to become in this latter aspect an apparently almost independent problem. This is tantamount to saying that immediate racial problems are ultimately just common human problems. When community conditions are what they ought to be for all citizens—when wrong conditions *per se* are no longer tolerated in any city—the problem before us this morning will have ceased to exist. So long as we sit upon the fence between the two races and look in only one direction and content ourselves with surveying with our eyes and talking with our tongues, we shall get nowhere. A social problem cannot be solved by a man who thinks in terms of race. A social solution is reached only by *action*, common action against a common evil.

By this time you will begin to wonder when I am going to touch my real subject. And yet I must crave your indulgence while I suggest two additional elements desirable in an ideal attack, through a survey, upon a social problem.

*First.* The survey must be continuous and progressive, just as the solution must be gradual, continuous, and progressive. What can be learned and digested in three months or a year only lays the foundations for learning and digesting far more in a following period of months or years.

*Second.* The survey should be carried on with the help of those who can help in interpreting its reason and meaning to those who must work out the solution of the problem involved.



Let us now summarize the argument and then make concrete application. To solve a social problem we must first survey it. The survey must be directed by experts and socially interpreted by and to those who are directly concerned. It must be adequate rather than superficial, it must be extended rather than brief, it must be progressive rather than momentary and final. It must be social rather than racial. Its solution must be through common action rather than through words and talk.

I have gone through these theoretic considerations in order to present a very concrete plan for a survey in Nashville designed to meet the purposes implicit in your discussion this morning. The object is good racial relationships through a wise social policy based on an adequate and progressive survey of the living conditions of a definite community.

The plan is merely a plan. It offers great possibilities for good, not merely nor chiefly for Nashville, but for the whole country. Its success may depend upon the support, moral and financial, which comes—or does not come—from those who see the possibilities and could come to our aid.



Briefly, the situation is this: The Y. M. C. A. is undertaking in Nashville to work out a more definite interracial understanding. We have a Y. M. C. A. secretary as guide and counsellor for four college Y. M. C. A.'s, representing two white institutions, Vanderbilt and Peabody; and two colored institutions, Fisk and Meharry. We have at Vanderbilt monthly meetings of those interested, both white men and colored men. The chairman of our organization is Chancellor Kirkland, of Vanderbilt, one of the wise and sane men of the South and the nation. I am authorized by him to make the statement I am about to make. The plan was not made to fit this particular talk-fest, but this particular talk-fest fits the plan.

We propose to make valuable our intercollegiate interracial coöperation by turning our resources of intelligence and good will, both faculty and student, into purposeful activity. The Chancellor long since discovered the truth that common thinking follows rather than precedes common action. Our program will utilize all the energy we have the grit and grace to put into it. It involves practically no elements of friction. It works to the end of the common good of colored and white. It works through the joint and common activity of colored and white.

We purpose to undertake a social survey of some one unit in Nashville, starting with a survey of housing conditions. We shall probably choose the Third Ward for our unit. It includes both colored and white populations, and at the same time it contains some of the very worst housing conditions in Nashville. The Third Ward surrounds Fisk University, and is within a half hour's walk from Vanderbilt.

Our plans will be worked out under the very best advice from our several faculties and will utilize the enthusiastic energies of the socialized Christian youth of the four schools. The reports we shall make will contribute to the effectiveness of all the efforts in Nashville, Tennessee, and the South, for better housing conditions and better race relations.

But we do not propose to stop with a single year of effort, or a single type of survey. Institutions are as perennial as problems are



eternal. We shall find our problems expanding and our usefulness increasing as we stimulate one improvement after another. Studies of city blocks as in New York do not prove to be simple and easy. Attempts at the organization of a socialized community unit as in Cincinnati open up unlimited vistas of endeavor and hopefulness for many years ahead. The Framingham experiment in the elimination of tuberculosis illustrates in a marvelous way how much time is required for the survey and solution of a single problem in disease control, how complex a single problem is, and how broad, continuous, and progressive the problem of solution becomes.

We aim at an adequate and consistent survey of conditions, hoping for an effective and progressive improvement of them, this through the joint efforts of teachers and students, of colored and white, reacting to better relationships because of better conditions and because of the mutual appreciation which comes in a common activity looking to a common goal.

I trust that this dream may not only come true in Nashville, but may serve as an encouragement and suggestion helpful to many other communities. I bring it as the message of two races of a Southern city. May we not have your coöperation?

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FREEDOM—Not only freedom from outside fetters of outgrown forms and external creeds, but freedom from one's own prejudices, timidities and conventionalities.

FELLOWSHIP—Not only fellowship with those we like but with those from whom we differ. Not the fellowship of our "own household" interpreted by denominational, national or racial lines, but the fellowship of the spirit, the fellowship that tries to make real the brotherhood of man and all which that should imply.

AND CHARACTER—The test and measure of the preceding quests. That is not freedom that does not make for goodness and that is not fellowship that does not ripen into love. "Character is the stone that cuts all other stones."

IN RELIGION—All three of these graces come into their full consciousness and highest potency at the altar of religion. Reverence, adoration, humility, service, all meet in the devout life.

—*Jenkin Lloyd Jones, in Unity, March 1, 1917,*

The President of the University, Dr. McKenzie, and the editorial staff of THE NEWS heartily approve the resolutions following, which were unanimously adopted by the National Collegiate Athletic Association at its last meeting; and they are published herewith as a measure of that approval, in part, at least:

UNIVERSAL PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND THE  
NATIONAL COLLEGIATE ATHLETIC  
ASSOCIATION.

DR. THOMAS A. STOREY, NEW YORK STATE INSPECTOR  
OF PHYSICAL TRAINING.

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The disorganization of collegiate and intercollegiate athletics during the last eighteen months or more here in America has brought to this association an opportunity, an obligation, and a responsibility.

We of the National Collegiate Athletic Association have been concerned for these many years with an improvement of college athletics. We have found fault very profoundly with a large number of conditions that have grown up and dominated intercollegiate sport throughout this country. Strong men from college faculties North, South, East and West, have pointed out the need for change, and have made impressive recommendations which would lead to better, finer, cleaner athletic relations inside and outside of our American institutions.

There never has been a time in the history of this organization when change could be more easily accomplished than now. There has never been an opportunity for reorganization and reconstruction such as now presents itself in the many colleges represented in this organization. It seems to me that we face an obligation and a responsibility when we survey this situation as individual colleges, and as a society made up of representatives from the whole group. If we resume the processes that we have condemned in the past, we of this association, and the colleges which we represent, will have to acknowledge the blame.

This is the strongest force and the most powerful body related to athletics in America. There is every reason to suppose that a united, vigorous, and determined policy on the part of this body will build up, on the wreck of conditions that have been, a future collegiate organization that will approach far more nearly the high ideals that have dominated the proceedings of the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

The athletic and recreational history of this great war should be a compelling argument supporting us in a determination to make college athletics in the future operate for the mass of students and not for

the team, operate more largely for sport and less completely for victory, and operate very much more largely for a democracy of activity than so definitely for the benefit of a few.

There are now many forces in the field with which this association could and should coöperate, not only for the benefit of the special interest that brings us together here as an organization, but also for the other intimately related activities of physical education. In my judgment, our policy at this time should lead us to take a national part for the establishment of better athletic procedures, and also for the establishment of a greater, larger, and more far-reaching program of physical education to affect our boys and girls in their scholastic years, as well as our students in their university and collegiate experiences. As an athletic association we cannot avoid our responsibility for the health values of athletics as a division of physical education, nor can we escape a responsibility for the quality of physical education in all of its divisions in the years that precede college life. The organizations, societies, associations, and the public-spirited individuals who have been concerned during the depressing years of this great war with the disturbing evidences on every hand of our neglect of physical education in the periods of childhood, youth, and young maturity, are forces with which the National Collegiate Athletic Association should join for the purpose of achieving a great and common objective. This obligation belongs to us not only as members of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, but also as patriotic American citizens concerned with the better training and the more effective conditioning of our youth for the exigencies and demands of maturity. We know that the right sort of athletic experience goes a long way toward building a rugged and enduring citizenship; and we know, too, that there are other elements in this training which belong to other phases of physical education which must not be neglected if we are to produce men and women which this country needs for peace problems as well as for its war problems.

Within the last year the United States Commissioner of Education has stimulated the organization of a National Committee on Physical Education. This committee is now made up of representatives from more than fifty national organizations concerned with the conservation of child life, and with the consequent production of a vigorous and enduring citizenship. We are, and must be, a part of that committee.

The Playground and Recreation Association of America has established a division of physical education for the purpose of coöperating with this national committee in the prosecution of a state and national campaign for the purpose of securing congressional and state legislation in the interest of universal physical education. The success of this campaign depends upon a mighty piece of teamwork involving team play on the part of each and every organization and agency in

this country that is concerned with these objectives. In my judgment, this organization of representatives from college faculties must and will participate effectively and vigorously in this big movement.

Taking these various dramatic facts into consideration, I earnestly propose that it be therefore resolved by the National Collegiate Athletic Association:

First: That a forceful letter, and such subsequent letters as may be necessary, be sent to the president of every college and university, and to the secretary of the board of trustees of every college and university in this country, calling their official, responsible attention to the practical ideals of this National Collegiate Athletic Association, emphasizing the relation of those ideals to effective citizenship, and urging upon those collegiate and university officials the importance of rebuilding their collegiate and intercollegiate athletics in conformity with those ideals.

Second: That this association shall make every reasonable effort to influence the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of our various states to enact laws providing for the effective physical education of all children of all ages in our elementary and secondary schools, public, institutional and private, a physical education that will bring these children instruction in hygiene, regular periodic health examinations, and a training in the practice of health habits, with a full educational emphasis upon play, games, recreation, athletics, and physical exercise, and shall further make every possible reasonable effort to influence communities and municipalities to enact laws and pass ordinances providing for community and industrial physical training and recreative activities for all classes and ages of society.

Third: That this association shall make persistent effort to influence state boards of education, or their equivalent bodies in all the states of the United States, to make it their effective rule that on or after June, 1922, or some other reasonable date, no applicant may receive a license to teach any subject in any school who does not first present convincing evidence of having covered in creditable manner a satisfactory course in physical education in a reputable training school for teachers.

Fourth: That this association hereby directs and authorizes its president to appoint a committee of three to take such steps as may be necessary to put the above resolutions into active and effective operation, and to cooperate in every practical and substantial way with the National Committee on Physical Education, the division of physical education of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, and any other useful agency that may be in the field for the purpose of securing the proper and sufficient physical education of the boys and girls of today, so that they may tomorrow constitute a nation of men and women of normal physical growth, normal physical develop-

ment, and normal functional resource, practicing wise habits of health conservation, and possessed of greater consequent vitality, larger endurance, longer lives, and more complete happiness—the most precious assets of a nation.

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## HOW EDUCATION PAYS.

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS EMPHASIZE INVESTMENT VALUE OF EDUCATION.  
MANY SOLDIERS WILL CONTINUE THEIR EDUCATION.—MONEY  
VALUE OF GOING TO SCHOOL.

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With forty-three legislatures meeting this year to consider programs of reconstruction, and with several million young men returning from army service to reënter civilian life, the investment value of education alike for the individual and for the nation, is receiving unusual attention. The Bureau of Education receives constant inquiries as to the "money value" of education, whether to the individual or to the community. Bulletin 1917, No. 22, which was prepared some time ago to answer such inquiries, is no longer available for free distribution, but may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 15 cents. Selected statements from this bulletin are given below.

### NATIONAL WEALTH AND POWER DETERMINED BY EDUCATION.

In Denmark, in Scotland, in Switzerland, in Massachusetts, wherever there is adequate provision for education, there follow great industrial efficiency and national wealth.

On the other hand, in Spain, in Russia, in Turkey, in Mexico, wherever there is a lack of the necessary school system, there is the same story of poverty, revolution, and misery, regardless of race, climate, or abundance of natural resources. Even in the United States it has been shown that the earning capacities of the citizens of several states are in direct proportion to the efficiency of their school systems. Dr. Charles W. Dabney, who investigated this matter, found, for example, that the average schooling given in 1898-99 to the citizens of Massachusetts was 7 years; to those of the United States as a whole, 4.4 years, while that of Tennessee was only 3 years. Corresponding to these figures, he found that the average daily production of the citizen of Massachusetts was 85 cents; that of the United States as a whole was 55 cents; while that of Tennessee was only 38 cents.

Massachusetts spent in 1898-99 on her schools \$12,261,525 more than Tennessee, which spent only \$1,628,313, or \$4.62 per pupil, against

\$38.55 per pupil spent in Massachusetts. But Massachusetts showed a productive capacity of \$144 more per year per inhabitant than did Tennessee, and \$90 a year more than the average for the United States. In total, Massachusetts put about \$13,000,000 per year more than Tennessee into her schools and received nearly \$400,000,000 annually in increased earning capacity, in large measure produced by the education of its citizens.

PRE-WAR FIGURES FOR NATIONAL WEALTH COMPARED.

Mulhall gives the annual earning capacity of the inhabitants of several European countries, as follows:

*Nations with efficient educational systems.*—England, £36; France, £31; Germany, £25.

*Nations with inadequate educational systems.*—Spain, £16; Greece, £13; Russia, £10.

The effect of education upon the accumulation of wealth is equally notable. The figures given by Mulhall for the total wealth per inhabitant of these several European nations are:

*Nations with efficient educational systems.*—England, £302; France, £252; Germany, £156.

*Nations with inadequate educational systems.*—Spain, £135; Greece, £101; Russia, £61.

Similarly, in America, Massachusetts, with slightly smaller population than Texas, has \$4,956,000,000 of accumulated wealth to \$2,836,000,000 possessed by Texas. That this is not altogether due to the fact that Massachusetts is a much older state than Texas is shown by the fact that Wisconsin, a comparatively new state, with only about two-thirds the population of Texas, has an equal amount of wealth; and California, a newer state, with only two-thirds the population, has \$4,115,000,000 of wealth. All three of these richer states for years spent two or three times as much per child on education as Texas spent.

The relation of productive power to education is shown by the enormously increased rate of production that has come about everywhere since education became more generally diffused. The total wealth accumulated in America from 1492 to 1860, a period of 368 years, was \$514 per capita. From then till 1904, a period of only 44 years, this increased to \$1,318 per capita, or an addition in 44 years of \$802 per capita. Since that time the increase has been even more striking. This increase is partly due to increased valuations or the smaller purchasing power of the dollar; to the use of accumulated capital, and to many other things; but after due allowance is made for all these the conclusion is inevitable that the education of the nation is largely responsible for vastly increasing the productive power of its citizens. The productive power of illiterate countries is not increasing at such rates.

The efficiency of an illiterate people in competition with an educated nation is as the crooked stick against the sulky plow; the sickle against the reaper; the bullock cart against the express train, the ocean greyhound, and the aeroplane; the pony messenger against the telegraph, telephone, and wireless; the individual harangue against the printing press, the newspaper, the library; the spinning wheel against the factory; the pine fagot against the electric light; the peddling of skins and herbs from the oxcart against the bank, the check book, the railroad, the department store; the log hut against the steel skyscraper; the unaided eye against the microscope and telescope; incantations and magic against the chemist, the hospital, the modern physician and surgeon. Take away from one entire generation all education, and society must revert to the stick plow, the oxcart, and such primitive means because steel implements, locomotives, steamships, electricity, telephones, telegraph, waterworks, steel buildings, mining and chemical industries, factories, modern sanitation, hygiene and medicine, books, newspapers, courts of justice, and laws that protect property and defend the rights of the weak are all impossible without education and are efficient only in proportion as educated intelligence is applied to them.

#### NECESSITY FOR EDUCATION RAPIDLY INCREASING.

The necessity for education has increased and will continue to increase with the advance in the complexity of the processes of civilization. Because of the unparalleled progress in the arts and sciences during the past fifty years the need for education has in a generation multiplied manyfold. For example, a century ago a transportation system was little more than a wagon and a driver who knew the road. Now, in handling a problem of transportation, experts in traffic must first determine whether a road in that place will be worth while, and what kind of road will be most economical and efficient; experts in finance must provide the tremendous sums needed to build the road; civil engineers must lay it out; bridge engineers plan the bridges; chemical engineers test the materials; mills and factories with scores of chemical and physical experts make the rails, build the locomotives and steel cars; and a host of traffic experts, auditors, accountants, and specially trained managers and clerks, telegraphers, engineers, conductors, and others keep the trains moving with safety and with profit. In like manner the farmer can no longer merely exhaust one fertile piece of fresh soil after another by crude methods of agriculture. Intelligent rotation must be planned, soil must be conserved and built up, improved stock and seed must be bred; methods of cultivation that stimulate growth and conserve moisture and fertility must be practiced; markets must be studied and considered in planting; new methods of marketing must be used; accounts must be kept; and homes

must be made healthful. If this is not done the landowner will soon lose his land and become a tenant and the tenant become a day laborer. In law, in medicine, in teaching, in manufacturing, in trade and industry of all kinds, this same increased demand for education is found.

#### A BANKER'S OPINION.

Speaking, in 1905, at Girard College, Mr. Vanderlip said: "The mental equipment of a business man needs to be greater today than was ever before necessary. Just as the sphere of the business man's actions has broadened with the advent of rapid transportation, telegraphs, cables, and telephones, so have the needs of broad understanding of sound principles increased. It was steam processes of transportation and production that really made technical education necessary. The electric dynamo created the demand for educated electrical engineers. So the railroad, the fast steamship, the electric current in the telephone and cable, and the great economic fact of gigantic and far-reaching business combinations are making the science of business a different thing from any conception of commerce which could have been had when Girard was the most successful of business men. The enlarged scope of business is demanding better trained men who understand principles. New forces have made large scale production, and we need men who can comprehend the relation of that production in the world of markets. There has been introduced such complexity into modern business and such a high degree of specialization that the young man who begins without the foundation of an exceptional training is in danger of remaining a mere clerk or bookkeeper. Commercial and industrial affairs are conducted on so large a scale that the neophyte has little chance to learn broadly, either by observation or experience. He is put at a single task; the more expert he becomes at it the more likely it is that he will be kept at it unless he has had a training in his youth which has fitted him to comprehend in some measure the relation of his task to those which others are doing."

#### EDUCATION AND "WHO'S WHO."

An investigation of the educational advantages enjoyed by the 8,000 persons mentioned in "Who's Who in America," for the years 1899-1900, brought out the following facts: Out of the nearly 5,000,000 uneducated men and women in America, only thirty-one have been sufficiently successful in any kind of work to obtain a place among the 8,000 leaders catalogued in this book. Out of 33,000,000 people with as much as a common-school education, 808 were able to win a place in the list, while out of only 2,000,000 with high-school training, 1,245 have manifested this marked efficiency, and out of 1,000,000 with college or university training, 5,768 have merited this distinction. That is to say, only one child in 150,000 has been able in America, without



education, to become a notable factor in the progress of his state, while the children with common-school education have, in proportion to numbers, accomplished this four times as often, those with high-school eighty-seven times as often, and those with college training 800 times as often. If this list had been selected by the universities or school teachers, or if literary leaders only were chosen, it might easily be claimed that the apparently greater success of the educated was due to the line of work from which the leaders were selected. But the selection of the men and women in this book was not in the hands of professors, but in the hands of a firm of business men. They selected leaders in all lines of industry, commerce, agriculture, and other fields of practical endeavor besides the professions, and still this enormously increased efficiency and productivity of those with education was found.

#### THE EDUCATION OF THE MEN WHO FRAMED THE CONSTITUTION.

As no other one political event has had more to do with national peace and stability, and hence with industrial possibilities, than the framing and adoption of the Constitution, especial significance is attached to the results of Professor Jones' study of the part which the one per cent of college graduates in the country played in this important matter. He found that the author of the Constitution, Thomas Jefferson, was a college graduate; its ablest defender, John Adams, was a college graduate; twenty-three of the fifty-four who composed the convention were college graduates, and twenty-seven were college-bred men; two of the three who brought about the convention—Madison and Hamilton—were college graduates, while the third—Monroe—was a college man; the authors of three of the four plans presented—Madison, Hamilton, and Patterson—were college graduates; the plan finally adopted was that of a college graduate; and after its final adoption the three men who led in explaining it, defending it, and securing its adoption by the states were all college graduates—Madison, Jay, and Hamilton. In fact, the one per cent of college graduates in America can almost be said to have called the convention, written the Constitution, and secured its adoption and ratification.

#### EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WESTERN STATE.

Following quite a different method, Mr. H. E. Kratz made an investigation of the part being played by college-bred men in the recent development of one of the Western states. Mr. Kratz asked men in fifteen leading South Dakota cities to name the five leading men in their cities in seven different lines, viz: law, medicine, teaching, the ministry, banking, journalism, merchandising, and manufacturing. Of the 533 men whose names were sent in as leaders in these cities in the several lines 293, or fifty per cent, proved to have had as much as two years of college training.—*School Life*.

## EDUCATION A NATIONAL CONCERN, SAYS SEC. LANE.

EDUCATION NOT MERELY A STATE MATTER.—FEDERAL AID A NECESSITY.  
LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE WAR.

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"If once we realize that education is not solely a state matter, but a national concern, the way is open," says Secretary Lane, discussing in his annual report the educational lessons learned from the war.

"If men cannot be converted readily into soldiers but must be held in camp while they receive a primary education, surely no one can hold that this is a matter deserving of merely state attention. The nation's life may not have been imperiled by the presence in the army of a considerable percentage of men who could not be equipped for service promptly, but this is the minor part of the reason why this humiliating condition should not obtain in this country. The greater reason is that we cannot govern ourselves while in ignorance. We cannot have a small portion of our population unable to sense the movement of our times save through the gossip of the corner and altogether unable to check the idle rumor and the slogans of demagogues, without putting at hazard the success of our system of government. And if we lag others will lead. The American must be the exemplar of democracy.

"We are training boys and men to be farmers out of Federal funds, preparing to advance vocational education on a large scale, promoting the construction of solid highways within the states as part of an interstate system, subjecting the packer, the canner, and the banker to Federal supervision; surely without violation of our fundamental law we can find a way by which the nation can know that all of its people are able to talk and read our own language. I do not suggest Federal control, but I would strongly urge Federal coöperation with the states toward definite ends.

"A little money, the coöperation of the states, and of the industries of the country—and both can be had—a little money, perhaps as much in a year as we have gloriously spent in five hours in France, and the work could be done. It could be done without coercion, without trenching on the prerogatives of the state in the slightest. If we could offer help to those willing to accept it, the end would be accomplished. Make the same kind of an offer to the states for the education of their illiterates that we make to them for the construction of roads, and in five years there would be few, if any, who could not read and write in this country.

## NATIVE-BORN WHITES.

"Adult illiteracy in the less-developed sections of our country is not a proud matter of which to talk, but it is present. Men who speak in the language of Shakespeare—and this is literally true, for their ancestors came here in his time bringing the language of Shakespeare and the King James version of the Bible on their tongues—tens of thousands of these men and women are today, after three centuries in this country, unable to read one line of Shakespeare or to sign their names. And yet they have fought for this country through every war and have died as heroes for a land that did not concern itself enough about them to see that they were educated. Those people have not had their chance. Their condition is a reproach to a republic. And it is not that they are unwilling to take instruction, or that they feel superior to it. For the experiment has been made; and, day after day, old, gray-bearded men and eager-eyed women went to the mountain schools when given the opportunity, and their letters tell of the delight that is theirs because the world has been opened to them.

## THE NEGRO.

"Then, we must consider the Negro. For him and his condition we are responsible as for no one else. He came here without exercising his own will. He was made a citizen without discrimination and in a large out-of-hand way. The Indian we feel we are responsible for as a nation, and we give him an education—a most practical one. But the Negro, who is a charge upon the American conscience and whose education, I believe, should long ago, in some part at least, have been a charge upon the American pocket, (\*) is slowly, very slowly, coming into that knowledge which is his one chance of developing into a growing national asset—the knowledge of the way of making a living. When one looks into the effort that is being made to give the Negro the right sort of an education, he finds a much more cheerful picture than he had thought. The Southern states, for instance, are meeting with no little eagerness the offers that come to them to give some direction to the education of the Negro. The problem is basically one of money. The way has been found to give our colored citizen an education that will strengthen his fiber, widen his vision, and at the same time make him happy in achieving a useful place in society. There are no more inspiring and promising reports written in this country than those of the various foundations which are promoting the right method of educating the Negro. Not only is the response from the states encouraging, but experience has gone far enough for-

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\* The March (1918) number of THE FISK NEWS contained a brief submitted by its editor to the National Education Association on the constitutional power of the Government to give aid to Negro education. The association adopted the principle advocated by a unanimous vote.

ward by this time to demonstrate that with guidance, oversight, and the bearing of only a part of the financial burden, this whole problem of lifting a backward people onto a level more compatible with our hopes for them and with their status as citizens can be realized.

#### THE FOREIGN BORN.

"The next grand division of those who need education, inspiration, and outlook, and for whom we are responsible, is the foreign born.

"If the Government will shape the policy and undertake to make the propaganda for the definite end of giving a first insight into American words, newspapers, politics, life, that which has been regarded as the work of generations can be started in a very short time and men put on their way toward real citizenship.

"I am not urging the absurdity that men can be transformed into Americans by a course in school. This is but a beginning. Knowledge of our language is but a tool. America is the expression of a spirit, an attitude toward men and material things, an outlook, and a faith. Our strange and successful experiment in the art of making a new people is the result of contact, not of caste, of living together, working together for a living, each one interpreting for himself and for his neighbors his conception of what kind of social being man should be, what his sympathies, standards, and ambitions should be.

#### THE COMMUNITY CENTER.

"Now this cannot be taught out of a book. It is a matter of touch, of feeling, like the growth of friendship. Each man is approachable in a different way, appealed to by very contradictory things. One man reaches America through a baseball game, another through a church, a saloon, a political meeting, a woman, a labor union, a picture gallery, or something new to eat. The difficulty is in finding the meeting place where there is no fear, no favor, no ulterior motives, and, above all, no soul-insulting patronage of poor by rich, of black by white, of younger by elder, of foreign born by native born, of the unco' bad by the unco' good. To meet this need the schoolhouse has been turned into a community center. It is a common property, or should be. All feel entitled to its use. When we were younger this kind of machinery was not necessary, for we were fewer in number, lived in smaller communities, and felt a common interdependence which made each one a trumpet-blowing herald of democracy. Today, however, there must be some thought given and some money expended in even having an opportunity to touch the hand of a fellow man.

#### THE SCHOOL AND A BETTER AMERICA.

"I believe that more and more thought will be given to our school system as the most serviceable instrumentality we possess for the de-

velopment of a better America. It has been, we must confess, a very much taken-for-granted institution. It is probably of all our inventions the one of which we are most proud, and like other of our inventions we have not realized the greatness of its possibilities. We have become accustomed to hearing it spoken of as the heart of the nation. But this figure must be taken with very definite limitations. It is the beginning of things for the boys and girls, but to the man and the woman it is almost a thing outside of life. This should not be so, for it may be the very center of the social, the intellectual, and in smaller places of the economic life.

"To the necessity for more thorough education of the people all countries have become keenly alive. One large part of England's grand plan of reconstruction is the founding and conducting of a great national school system out of which will come more men and women of trained minds and trained hands.

"As we move further and further from the war we will discover much that we do not now see. But this one thing stands out more plainly than ever before, that this world is to belong to the workers—those who do and those who direct the doing. Not merely to those who drive the nail or lay the brick, but also to those who have come to a higher capacity through education and larger experience, the men of scientific knowledge, of skill in the arts, of large organizing capacity. Ease, sheltered repose, will come only to those who themselves have earned it. This is the inevitable tendency of democracy.

"The test is to be in peace as it was in the time of war. Are you fitted for the fight? The man who knew how knowledge could be converted into power was the man for whom there was unlimited call. So it is increasingly to be. To be useful is to be the test that society will put. Each man's rights are to be measured not by what he has but by what he does with what he has. The honors—the *croix de paix*—the richest rewards will go to the capables, those who are not standardized into 'men machines,' those who dare to venture and learn to lead. But all must work, and this duty to work and respect for work should be the earliest lesson learned. And it should be taught in the school, not as a homily, but in a living way, by tying work with instruction, making the thing learned to apply to something done."—*School Life*.



## INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT AT RACE RELATIONS SECTION, SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS.

JAMES HARDY DILLARD, LL.D., *Chairman.*

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### FORMER MEETINGS.

I congratulate ourselves on meeting again in this Race Relations Section of the Southern Sociological Congress. The meetings which we have held in past years have been helpful and useful, and have been generally recognized as among the best held under the auspices of the Congress. Those of us who are especially interested in this subject of the relations of the races in our Southern States are grateful to the managers of the Congress for providing this opportunity for frank discussion. At each meeting members of both races have met together and spoken out in good will their thoughts bearing on matters of mutual concern.

### THE HUMAN WAY.

The meeting in Atlanta, five years ago, was the first important meeting of such character ever held, and the addresses given on that occasion were highly valuable. Of equal value were the candid discussions following the formal addresses. So valuable were these Atlanta addresses considered to be that by unanimous resolution it was voted that they be published in a separate volume. This was done, under the title of "The Human Way." The book has been pronounced by many to contain, on the whole, the best presentation of the most important phases of the subject that has been published. A new edition, with some changes and additions, has recently been issued. All who have attended these meetings appreciate their importance, and all who may read this book will have a like appreciation.

### WHY WE ARE HERE.

It is good sometimes to stop and think of the object of meetings like these, and indeed of all our work and efforts and strivings. Is it not simply to try to improve ourselves and our relations to each other, and to try to make this world a better place for all of us to live in? We want a wider spread of knowledge that we may all know how to deal better with the things of nature and to produce more abundantly the good things which all need and which all should be able to enjoy. We want these good things to be produced for the use and enjoyment of all the children of men who are born into this common world of ours. And more than the increase and spread of any material goods, we want the feeling of good relations with our fellowmen, the feeling

of coöperation, of peace, of good will, of the spirit of give and take. We want the realization that the well-being and advancement of one individual, of one race, or of one nation does not mean the ill-being and debasement of the other man, or the other race, or the other nation.

#### THE GREAT FACT.

Was there ever a time in which the need of this realization could be more keenly felt than in these awful days when the spirit of domination has drawn the whole world, the innocent with the guilty, into a whirlwind of destruction? What is the remedy? Palliatives there may be, governmental arrangements, legal forms; but at bottom we know that sane and sensible and just relations between individuals or races or nations can be established only by the spread of the spirit of good will, along with the realization of a great fact. I mean the realization of the human fact, the democratic fact, the Christian fact, that one man's degradation must mean ultimately not the other man's exaltation, but also his own degradation; that one race's degradation must mean ultimately not the other race's exaltation, but also its own degradation; that one nation's degradation must mean ultimately not the other nation's exaltation, but also its own degradation.

#### OUR SPECIAL TASK.

Is not this the lesson which we have all got to learn? We here today, in this brief meeting, are engaged on this lesson. We are thinking especially of that part of the lesson which Providence has emphasized in our corner of the world—namely, that neither of the races can be injured without the other's injury, that the real advance of either must redound to the real advance of the other. We are two races set side by side, with the problem before us of living side by side in coöperation and fair dealing in spite of all differences. There have been statesmen, philosophers, and scientists who maintained that this is impossible as a permanent relation between races so situated and so different. There are many today who still hold this opinion. But who can tell the future? One thing we know now, especially now in this present time of stress, that coöperation and fair dealing are shown to be the better way. We know that so long as we are actually here side by side the sensible way, the human way, the just way, the religious way, is to live not in ill will, but in good will; not in strife, but in coöperation; not in ignorance and disregard, but in understanding and sympathy. If we follow the right way as we see it now, we may leave the results and the future to God.

Let us hope that this meeting, like the preceding meetings, may have a healthy influence in strengthening the public sentiment in favor of good feeling and right dealing.

### CONTRIBUTION FROM MRS. DARDEN.

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It is a pleasure to record the receipt of \$5 from Mrs. Lillian Allen Darden, M., '07, of Petersburg, Va. The letter following, sent by President McKenzie, explains why acknowledgment was not made sooner:

*"Dear Mrs. Darden:*

"I am in receipt of a note from President Gandy telling me that he, by inadvertence, overlooked your name when making his report concerning the contributions to Fisk University. He is sending me the check which you gave him, and I want to make this belated acknowledgment and express our appreciation of your generosity. We shall endeavor to make correction for our incomplete statement in the next FISK NEWS. Again thanking you, I am,

"Very sincerely yours,

"F. A. MCKENZIE."

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### CHAPEL HOURS.

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"Carter Wesley, '17"—Fisk knows him better by this name than by his new title of "Lieutenant"—came back to his Alma Mater and spoke to the school on April 1. The school received him with round after round of applause, as he came into the chapel and when Dr. McKenzie presented him to the school.

It was a very thoughtful Wesley who refused to talk of his experiences "over there," and insisted that he wanted to warn his hearers to keep their heads on their shoulders while they reflect and tend to grow bitter over the race discriminations which had been practiced against the Negro soldiers. He agreed that there had been much to embitter the race, but felt that the embittered man could not render the highest services in helping cure the conditions which have so thoroughly disturbed the colored people.

After the Lieutenant, came President McKenzie with a report of the financial condition of Fisk University. After reviewing the improvements which had been made through donations made largely by the General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation, he reviewed by means of a chart the constant increase in the annual expenses of the University—caused by rising costs and expenditures made to add



to the comfort of the students and teachers and the efficiency of the University—and the sources of income, laying special stress upon the fact that this income has to be laboriously raised from year to year from philanthropic persons.

#### SOUTHERN WHITE MAN GIVES \$10,000.

He told of a very recent incident in which a man walked into his office and told him that he was a Southern man and was interested in Fisk University. After a little while, the gentleman took out of his pocket an envelope, and, passing it to Dr. McKenzie, remarked that the latter might be interested in its contents. When the envelope was opened, five Liberty Bonds, each of the denomination of \$1,000, were revealed. After enjoying the President's amazement for a while, the gentleman said: "Well, perhaps you might be interested in this envelope." When the latter was opened, there was a bond of \$5,000—a total of \$10,000 which this Southern friend gave to the University because he was interested in its work. The friend was Mr. Thomas P. Norris, of Guthrie, Ky.

After recounting this experience, Dr. McKenzie announced the latest gifts of \$50,000, each, by the General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation. The school went wild with enthusiasm and the students gave nine "cheers for President McKenzie." Dean Morrow, for the faculty; Jasper Atkins, for the students, and Rev. T. M. Brumfield, for the Alumni, expressed their indorsement of Dr. McKenzie's work.

#### MORE FISK BOYS VISIT THE UNIVERSITY.

The next day, the school had the pleasure of seeing and hearing First-Class Sergeants Lewis Curren, Maurice Winston, and James Ford; and Master Signal Officer Donald Fauntleroy. Each one of these was received with loud applause and cheers; and the brief speeches which they made were well received. Fisk was glad to see them here again and showed it.

On the fourth of April our soldier, Valdo Kelley, alumnus and "quiet man," spoke to the students in a very calm and earnest manner of the problems just ahead. He was given a distinct ovation.



In sending out matter to Southern newspapers, Mrs. John D. Hammond, Secretary Southern Publicity Committee, encloses the following:

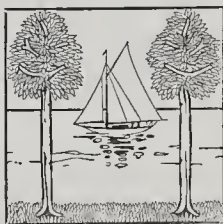
“The Southern Publicity Committee believes that a wider knowledge of the attitude of the leading men and women of the South in regard to racial matters will be of benefit to both races.

“The enclosed article is one of a series which the Committee sends out regularly to Southern daily and weekly papers, telling of things being done by Southern people, individually, in groups, and through county and state officials, to help the Negroes to better, more efficient and more prosperous living.

“We believe that the moral and material prosperity of the South depends upon the moral and economic development of its entire population; and we ask the coöperation of Southern editors in aiding this development by giving publicity to this constructive work.

“The Committee’s work is done in no spirit of boastfulness or of self-satisfaction. They are aware of the shadows, the sinister influences in the lives of both races. But they believe the good outweighs the evil, and deserves as wide a hearing; and that to give publicity to these efforts to build up a better understanding between the races, and to coöperate with the better class of Negroes in improving conditions among their people will encourage others of our own people to similar efforts, and will further the interest of both races.

“We ask your help in getting before the Southern public these aspects of Southern life.”



The  
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Have Been Received from  
the Press

These lectures are frank and open discussions of the problems which sever the races in the United States, but they treat of constructive remedies for the evils discussed. Delivered by a group of well-trained students of social problems, the views presented cannot fail to be of value to other students of the problems discussed.

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The price of One Copy is Twenty-Five Cents. Six Copies may be purchased for One Dollar.

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MAKE REMITTANCE TO  
ISAAC FISHER, University Editor  
Fisk University - - Nashville, Tenn.



# *The Paris Covenant*

FOR A

## LEAGUE *of* NATIONS

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*Text of the Plan adopted by the  
Paris Peace Conference  
April 28, 1919.*

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*A Charter for World Democracy  
Framed by the representatives of  
the victorious, free nations*

*Revised to meet the criticism of  
the people themselves, voiced  
through Press and public forum  
and their representatives in Con-  
gress*

*Extending to all the World the  
principles of the Declaration of  
Independence, the Constitution of  
the United States, and the Monroe  
Doctrine.*

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*Published by*

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

BUSH TERMINAL SALES BUILDING

130 WEST 42D STREET

NEW YORK

## Division of Foreign Intelligence, Department of State.

The following is the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations as presented to the plenary session of the Peace Conference:

# The Covenant of the League of Nations

## PREAMBLE

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

## ARTICLE I

The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other states named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the league.

Any fully self-governing state, dominion or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the league if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the league in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the league may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, with-

draw from the league, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

## ARTICLE II

The action of the league under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

## ARTICLE III

The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the league.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals, and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the league, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each member of the league shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

## ARTICLE IV

The Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the league. These four members of the league shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the league first selected by the Assembly, representatives of ——— shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional members of the league, whose representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of members of the league to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the league, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the league not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the league.

At meetings of the Council, each member of the league represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

## ARTICLE V

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the league represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or the Council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the league represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

## ARTICLE VI

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the league. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the members of the league in ac-



cordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

## ARTICLE VII

The seat of the league is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the league shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the league, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the league and officials of the league when engaged on the business of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the league or its officers or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

## ARTICLE VIII

The members of the league recognize that the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The members of the league agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the league which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the league undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military

and naval programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

## ARTICLE IX

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles I and VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

## ARTICLE X

The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

## ARTICLE XI

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole league, and the league shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary General shall, on the request of any member of the league, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

## ARTICLE XII

The members of the league agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

### ARTICLE XIII

The members of the league agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the league agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the league which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

### ARTICLE XIV

The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the league for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

### ARTICLE XV

If there should arise between members of the league any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the league

agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers; and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the league represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the re-

quest of either party of the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article XII relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the league represented on the Council and of a majority of the other members of the league, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

## ARTICLE XVI

Should any member of the league resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article XII, XIII or XV, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the league, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league.

The members of the league agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state, and that they will take the necessary

steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the league which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the league.

Any member of the league which has violated any covenant of the league may be declared to be no longer a member of the league by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the league represented thereon.

## ARTICLE XVII

In the event of a dispute between a member of the league and a state which is not a member of the league, or between states not members of the league, the state or states not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles XII to XVI inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the league, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

## ARTICLE XVIII

Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the league shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

## ARTICLE XIX

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

## ARTICLE XX

The members of the league severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case members of the league shall, before becoming a member of the league, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

## ARTICLE XXI

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

## ARTICLE XXII

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reasons of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility,

and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandataries on behalf of the league.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatar until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatar.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatar must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses, such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centres of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatar and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatar as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the mandatar shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatar shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the league, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.



A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandataries and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

## ARTICLE XXIII

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the league (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; (c) will intrust the league with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will intrust the league with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the league. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be in mind; (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

## ARTICLE XXIV

There shall be placed under the direction of the league all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the league.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the league shall, subject to

the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information, and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the league.

## ARTICLE XXV

The members of the league agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

## ARTICLE XXVI

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the league whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the members of the league whose representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

## ANNEX TO THE COVENANT

One. Original members of the League of Nations.

Signatories of the Treaty of Peace.

United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the covenant.

Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

Two. First Secretary General of the League of Nations.



# America and the Covenant

A Sermon Preached in the Brick Presbyterian  
Church, New York

BY

Rev. William Pierson Merrill, D.D.

JUNE 15, 1919

## AMERICA AND THE COVENANT.

ROMANS, 15: 1.

*"We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves."*

Those are good and necessary words. Every man or woman who would be a Christian must lay them to heart, and put them to practice.

But it is not with the application of this great law of Christian living to the conduct of individuals that we are concerned to-day. The question of immediate importance just at the present time is not the application of the principles of Jesus to the individual, but their application to groups. That is the point where the world challenges the authority of Christ. And to many Christians,—increasingly to the whole body of believers in the church,—it is becoming clear that the supremacy of Christ is threatened unless His reign is extended. Either He must be Lord of all, or He will not be Lord at all. If business men, and statesmen, and educators, and journalists, can leave Him out of their counsels, then His Gospel becomes mere embroidery on human life, when it should be the warp of its fabric, into which all the rest is woven, and by which all the rest is given substance.

I ask you to take this text then, not as a word for each of us individually, but as a word for that collective and beloved entity which we call "America". "America, being strong, ought to bear the burdens of the weaker peoples, and not to look out simply for her own interests."

The bearing of this message is clear, in view of the grave situation that is developing with regard to the proposed Covenant of the League of Nations. The time is coming soon, if it be not here already, when America, through her representatives, must decide whether to stand

by that Covenant or to reject it, to enter a partnership of nations or withdraw to a position and policy of isolation.

My purpose to-day is not to defend or to discuss the details of the Treaty or of the Covenant. I want to give a reason for the faith that is in me that the American course, the Christian course, the right course, is for our country to set her hand to the Covenant and take her place in the proposed partnership. It seems a proper subject for discussion on this day so close to the birthday of our American flag.

I concern myself now only with those reasons for supporting the Covenant which are so big, so vital, so Christian, that they have a right to a place in the thought and attention of the church. Arguments are being used against the adoption of the Covenant which have no standing or validity for a Christian nation. I want to plead that we be sure to give no weight to such arguments; that, if we feel constrained to oppose the Covenant, we at least do so on other grounds than these.

First of all, least important,—though not always least in weight and influence, come what we may call the personal motives for opposition. Strong as these may be, they are wholly unworthy of attention on the part of honorable and Christian men and women. There are some who oppose the League of Nations because the personality and conduct of President Wilson are intimately associated with it; because of the way in which it has been worked out, presented (thrust at us, they would say), by a group of interested men; because they assert that the Senate of the United States, a co-ordinate branch of the government in all treaty-making, has not been consulted as our Constitution provides that it shall be.

Grant, for argument's sake, that these objections rest on solid and incontrovertible fact; that Woodrow Wilson is all that his critics claim, or even worse (if that could

be); that the ignoring of those who had a right to be consulted is wholly indefensible; grant it all; and still there is one absolute, convincing, unanswerable reply; that in a matter so vital, so fraught with immense consequences for the future of the race, so intimately related to the welfare of humanity, it is unjustifiable to let any considerations have weight which do not affect the general welfare of humanity. It is utterly unworthy to allow one's judgment or action to be affected a hair's weight or a hair's breadth by any personal or partisan views. The only question that has the floor is the question, Will it be for the good of the world, or will it not, to set up such a League of Nations? Let a man be sure that he is free from any personal or partisan bias before he begins to throw stones at the Covenant.

A second set of objections which are unworthy and indefensible are those which spring from a misunderstanding of American principles and ideals.

During the long, honorable, and prosperous course of our national history, we have been guided by certain great statements given to our nation at critical times by the leaders God sent her. Conspicuous among these are Washington's Farewell Address to the American People, on retiring from the Presidency, and Monroe's Message in which is set forth the celebrated doctrine which bears his name. It is not to be wondered at, it is rather to be expected and desired, that Americans should turn to these classic words for guidance, when new occasions call for decisive action.

There is no objection to the League of Nations voiced more commonly or vigorously than the allegation that it controverts the advice of Washington and the position taken by President Monroe. This would not of itself be absolutely decisive against the new plan, for the world does move, and new occasions do teach new duties. America must never be steered by dead hands, even if they be the hands of Washington, Monroe, and Lincoln.

Yet it would rightly give us pause if the proposition that America enter a partnership of nations clearly ran counter to the express advice of the Father of our Country. It is not strange that many are disturbed when they recall the phrase "entangling alliances", and the warning against them, and then read the proposals for bringing America into intimate and practically inescapable relations—entangling relations—with the nations of Europe and Asia.

But all I ask, as an ardent supporter of the Covenant, is that every American shall read for himself that great Farewell Address of Washington, and decide for himself whether it can rightfully be invoked against our participation in the proposed covenant of Nations. Careful study of the document reveals the fact that Washington based his solemn advice that America play a lone hand on certain plain facts, *not one of which has kept its validity to the present day*, while one of them at least, and that the strongest, makes for rather than against our participation in a commonwealth of nations.

There are five reasons Washington gives as making wise a policy of isolation, and freedom from alliances with European powers.

The first reason is the weakness of the United States as a new and small nation, which might easily be over-matched and controlled by the great power.

Is there any one in America who will assert that that reason holds to-day? Are we so weak and small that we are afraid to mingle with the rest of the world? Why the very men who invoke Washington's advice, some of them, are most given to boasting of America's greatness and power. This reason, cogent in the days of George Washington, has simply ceased to exist. We need say no more about it.

The second reason is the geographical location of our country, remote from Europe, separated by a vast ocean, and so naturally set to live a separate life.



Does that reason still hold, in these times when steamships cross the ocean in five days, and airships in a single day, while wires and wireless apparatus make the thinking of the world simultaneous, and New York is as instantly aware of what is done in London as Paris is? One goes from New York to Liverpool, under ordinary conditions to-day, in just about one-half the time it took George Washington, under ordinary conditions, to go from Mt. Vernon to New York. This reason has also ceased to exist.

The third reason brought forward by Washington was the aloofness of the United States of America from the political and general interests of Europe. We were living in a new and a different world. Our interests were not theirs, nor theirs our. It would be unnatural and forced for us to attempt to play any part in the common life of European nations.

True in Washington's day, will any one claim that that is fact to-day? Are our interests remote from those of Europe? If so, why was it so impossible, so wrong, for the United States to attempt to remain neutral during this great European war? I am sure that the reason and conscience of every man responded vigorously when the President said, at the time when we were just entering the war, that it was plain that never again could we attempt to be neutral in any world conflict. There were different worlds in Washington's day; the world is one to-day. Our interests, political, social, economic, are inextricably entangled with those of the other great nations.

At the famous meeting held at the Metropolitan Opera House in this city, on the even of President Wilson's return to Paris, Mr. Taft illustrated the situation by the story of the man whose lawyer visited him in jail and asked him why he was there. When the man told him the fact, the lawyer replied, "Why, they can't put you in jail for that". To which the man replied, rather

forcibly, that he was there, just the same. Entangling alliances? The time to avoid them was when we were facing the question of participation in the war. We are intimately mixed up with the affairs of Europe; and simply for the reason that that which was a fact in 1797 is not a fact in 1919,—our interests are necessarily and naturally one with those of the nations of Europe.

The fourth reason given by Washington was the fact that we stood alone among the nations a representative of the principles of human liberty; that America was a democracy, while the other powers were monarchical; and we could not afford to take the risks involved in intimate association with governments of so opposite a type.

Here also, the reason is sound. Were the facts the same to-day, the advice would be good. Our President wisely sounded a note of caution in certain of his communications with the imperial government of Germany, to the effect that democratic nations could not have frank and confident dealings with autocratic governments. But does the fact remain? Was it mere emotion, blinding us to facts, which led us to hang up with the Stars and Stripes the banners of Great Britain, France, and Italy? Was it mere sentimentality that made us talk about "a war to make the world safe for democracy"? Having fought side by side with the great democratic nations,—some of them in certain very important respects more democratic than the United States of America,—are we now to revert to the judgment that was true in 1797, but has ceased to be true? Once more, it is a reason which has ceased to exist.

But the strongest plea Washington makes, the one which he urges with most solemn insistency, is that it is unwise to make permanent alliances, because that cause tends to excessive attachment to one nation or group of nations, and to unnatural antipathy toward other nations or groups.

Washington knew well whereof he spoke. During the last years of his life, while he was President, he had carried on a conflict harder in some ways, and more bitter, than the waging of the Revolutionary war. There was a strong party in this new country determined to commit us to an alliance with France against England. Washington saw the dangers of such a lining up of forces. One of the clearest marks of his sanity is his quick readiness to bring about friendly relations between America and England. It is safe to say that by far the greater part of the force leading him to urge so solemnly that we steer clear of entangling alliances was his fear that we should adopt a policy of permanent hostility toward England, our natural friend among the nations.

The very tendency Washington feared is still at work. Some of the strongest opposition to the League of Nations comes from the anti-British elements in our population. But in a far deeper way Washington's advice, instead of operating against American participation in the League, actually favors such participation. For here is a new sort of international agreement,—not an alignment with one nation and an antipathy toward another, but a coming together of all nations in a common working agreement. It is expressly planned to eliminate, so far as possible, group alliances, balances of power, and all the rest which Washington rightly feared. Here again, it is a strange phenomenon that some of the very men who oppose the League of Nations in the name of Washington, urge in place of it an alliance between America and Great Britain and France,—the very course against which Washington warned us!

Turn for a moment to President Monroe, and the doctrine that has made him famous. Again I assert that I do not see how any one can read that original message of James Monroe, and find in it reason for opposing the League of Nations.

We are given to light talk to the effect that the Monroe Doctrine means the paramountcy of suzerainty of the United States over the Western Hemisphere. It is partly because we have read into it such an insolent and impossible claim that the sensitive lands to the South of us regard our country with some suspicion and distrust.

The Monroe Doctrine was not at the start, and never has been, such a claim. It is a sufficient proof of that assertion to read the original message. It is a further proof, and a tremendous one, to realize that Canada is part of this hemisphere, and the United States would not dream of claiming any suzerainty over that vast dominion. We talk as if the Monroe Doctrine were the private property of the United States. If Canada is not concerned in it, the Monroe Doctrine is of no value. If Canada is concerned in it, then the Monroe Doctrine is a vital matter to the British Empire as well as to the United States, and Britain has been wise in putting back of it the force of her navy.

The fact is that Monroe sent out his defiant message after consultation with the British government, and with cordial though unofficial consent on its part. It was issued in the interests of democracy against the autocrats who aspired to control the world through the Holy Alliance. It was a simple assertion that the United States would stand for and guard the *territorial integrity* and the *democratic form of government* of all this hemisphere, so far as democratic government had been achieved here. This is what Monroe gives as his reason: "The political system of the allied powers is essentially different from that of America." "We should consider any attempt on their part to extend *their system* to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

The Covenant of the League of Nations proposes to extend *our* system, on which our American government is based,—free co-operation between self-governing com-

monwealths,—to the whole world; it proposes to make firm the territorial integrity and democratic government of every nation. How can any one quote Monroe as in opposition to such a plan?

There may be good reasons why America should not enter the League of Nations; but Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine are not among those reasons.

I should like to urge one weighty reason why the Covenant of the League should be adopted by the United States, but I can take time only to mention it. It is the fact that the League of Nations is so interwoven with the Peace Treaty that it is a hopeless task to remove it, and that its removal would leave the Peace Treaty in the condition of a bill enacted with the operating clause struck out.

Any one who has read through the voluminous draft of the Treaty or the excellent summary of it must have noticed how, again and again, practically at every important point where execution of the Treaty may prove difficult, or the understanding of its provisions be conflicting, the League of Nations is invoked as the solution of the difficulty. There are more than seventy such references in the Treaty. In fact the League is, in one point of view, the continuation of the Peace Conference with power to see its provisions carried into effect. I can see how those who think the Treaty unjust and unwise, and hope to see it changed or nullified, may want the League of Nations Covenant omitted. I can see that if any men in Germany are planning to sign the Peace Treaty as Trotzky signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, with the definite plan of failing to keep it, they would want above all to see the League of Nations defeated. But I do not see how any one who thinks the Treaty right on the whole, and hopes to see it adopted, can fail to support its plan for a League of Nations.

But I am speaking to-day, not of the possible arguments for the League, but of the unworthy reasons brought against it; and I must take time for but one more, and that by far the gravest, from the point of view of Christian thought and judgment.

Whatever arguments may be brought against the League, *no Christian has the slightest right to respect arguments based on the self-interest of America*, as opposed to the interests of the rest of the world.

Much of the opposition to the Covenant of the League of Nations is based on that argument, that it will not be to the advantage of America to enter such an international organization. Sometimes this is skilfully covered over, sometimes frankly avowed, sometimes it lies back in the subconsciousness of the opponent. I stand here to plead that it is an argument unworthy and un-Christian. It is the argument on which the Knox resolution is based.

Here our text comes into play. "We, who are strong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." It is not strange that men without the Christ-vision, men accustomed to think in terms of self-advantage, should look at the enviable position of the United States with her wealth, her unexhausted resources, her demonstrated power, and say, "What a chance for greatness and domination!" That they should look at poverty-stricken, death-smitten Europe, chaotic Russia and Turkey, and needy Asia, and draw back in alarm from the risks and burdens and losses that close participation with the life of those lands must mean for the United States.

But it is inconceivable that the Christian should take that view, form that estimate, adopt that policy. I would not say that no one can be a Christian and yet oppose the League Covenant; such dogmatism would be absolutely indefensible. There may be good and valid arguments against the Covenant, which have a right to appeal

to Christian men and women and to influence largely their judgment and actions. But I do say that I cannot see how any one can be a Christian and let this particular argument have any weight; more than that, he should be led the more to favorable consideration of the League of Nations plan for the fact that it may involve the putting of the strength of America at the service of smaller nations and weaker peoples, because it may make us really a people with a mission, a Servant of the Lord, a nation great according to the Christian standard, of service done to the lowest for the sake of the Highest.

It is precisely because so much is made of this self-regarding argument by the opponents of the Covenant that Christians feel the more sure that their influence should be on the side of its adoption. For if there is anything sure about the religion of Christ, it is that it urges sacrifice as the very law of a life that would be righteous and happy. There is absolutely no way of making a nation a Christian nation save by setting it in the way of Christ's ideals and principles; and the call to stay out of a plan aiming to secure the peace of the world and to further friendly co-operation of nations, on the ground that participation in it may involve danger and loss for us, is a call no Christian should heed for an instant. To be moved by such an appeal is to confess one's self in the grip of an un-Christian spirit.

Grave issues are involved in this question of the action our country shall take on the Peace Treaty, and on the Covenant of the League of Nations as a part of it. It is a time for free discussion, for patience, for care; it is a time to avoid denunciation and dogmatism, and the imputation of base motives. For myself, I must say that after reading, and re-reading, and carefully studying, the proposed covenant, I cannot come to any conclusion other than that the welfare of mankind will be set forward decidedly by the ratification of the Covenant and the setting up of the proposed League of Nations, and that

the best interests of the race would be gravely if not fatally hurt by a failure to adopt it now. The alternatives are such as one cannot face without dread. We have seen what one Balkan situation can do; what will happen if we emerge from this war, as now seems probable, with some twenty separate nations where four were, with all the rivalries and intrigues which their close contiguity will inevitably produce, and with no organized judgment and power of the world to oversee their development, and to hold the upper hand for justice and the good of humanity?

Even if the critics of the Covenant are right in their judgments, if it is open to serious objection, if flaws can be found all through it, if the necessity of amendment is palpably plain, still we need to ask if it is not better to start with this than to risk chaos again. Objections just as weighty, fears just as potent, were voiced when our forefathers here in New York State came near failing to ratify the Federal Constitution one hundred thirty years ago. The wise words of John Jay apply as forcibly to the present situation as to that:

"Some", said he, "would be content with recommendatory amendments; others wish for explanatory ones to settle constructions which they think doubtful; others would not be satisfied with less than absolute and previous amendments; and I am mistaken if there be not a few who prefer a separation from the union to any national government whatever. . . . Let it be admitted that this plan, like everything else devised by man, has its imperfections; that it does not please everybody is certain, and there is little reason to expect one that will. It is a question of grave moment to you whether the probability of your being able to obtain a better is such as to render it prudent and advisable to reject this and run the risk."

We may well face with soberness, and with a certain reluctance mounting almost to fear, the thought of what



it may mean to America to take part in a League of Nations, to abandon her traditional policy of isolation, to take her part in settling the quarrels of other nations and races, to assume the burden of a needy and divided world. By all means let us count the cost, not going into the plan with eyes closed to the risks we must face and the burdens we must bear. But, men and women of the church of Christ, calling ourselves Christians, have we counted the cost of *staying out* of this new and daring scheme; the casting down of the fair hopes of men for a better order; the loss of the opportunity for a free course for justice, peace, and comfort for great masses of men; the one chance of escaping from the intolerable load of competitive armament; the one reasonable assurance against a dangerous league of nations under the secret domination of the very forces, or forces like those, that brought on the war out of which we are just staggering, carrying our dead and our burdens of debt? There may be good arguments why America should stay out of the League of Nations and thereby condemn it to futility. If so, we should heed them. But the arguments I have heard so far are not good, not worthy of the respect of any Christian; they arise from a misreading of American ideals, and a rejection of Christian ideals.

Every patriot dreams dreams of the future greatness and glory of his country. He longs to see her high among the nations. But there is a vision that should claim the heart and fire the imagination of the Christian patriot, far nobler than that of any glory or greatness of outward prestige and prosperity. It is the vision of a country great in courage, great in daring, great in ideals, great in confidence in all men and races and nations, great in sacrifice, great in service, great in the ways of Christ and His cross. There is a magnificent phrase found in the Old Testament: "*Great unto God.*" That is what we would have America be, great unto God! That means clearly that America shall stand ready and eager

to assume all the risks and burdens and changes involved in playing her full part in international co-operation, in world-organization. It means that she gladly set her hand to the plan for a League of Nations, so felicitously called, not a Constitution, but a "Covenant",—a word with a deep religious flavor to all who love the Bible, most of all to Presbyterians who recall the "Solemn League and Covenant" that marked the downfall of the tyranny of the Stuarts in Scotland and England. It means that she stand ready to act as mandatarly under the League for some of the new nations, if they desire it, repeating the fine work done in the Philippines. It means that she reveal herself clearly to the world as a nation caring more for the good of humanity than for her own power and prestige and prosperity, a nation which holds all its resources at the service of those who need them without thought of reward, or overmuch counting of the cost.

"So runs our loyal dream of thee.  
God of our fathers! Make it true."

"Happy is the people that is in such a case. Yea, happy is the people whose God is the Lord", and whose way is the way of Christ, choosing not to be ministered unto, but to minister; not to rule over others, but to serve them in love for Christ's sake, valuing their strength most of all as a means of great service freely rendered to all mankind.

# LEAGUE *of* NATIONS

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## JOINT DEBATE ON THE COVENANT OF PARIS

**HENRY CABOT LODGE,**

*United States Senator from Massachusetts,  
Chairman-designate of the Senate Committee  
on Foreign Relations*

**A. LAWRENCE LOWELL,**

*President of Harvard University,  
Chairman of the Executive Committees of World Peace  
Foundation and League to Enforce Peace*

**SYMPHONY HALL, BOSTON**

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this great question now before the people, but I am sure that in regard to the security of the peace of the world and the welfare of the United States we do not differ in purpose.

I am going to say a single word, if you will permit me, as to my own position. I have tried to state it over and over again. I thought I had stated it in plain English. But there are those who find in misrepresentation a convenient weapon for controversy, and there are others, most excellent people, who perhaps have not seen what I have said and who possibly have misunderstood me.

It has been said that I am against a League of Nations. I am not; far from it. I am anxious to have the nations, the free nations of the world, united in a league, as we call it, a society, as the French call it, but united, to do all that can be done to secure the future peace of the world and to bring about a general disarmament.

#### EARLY SPEECHES IN FAVOR OF LEAGUE

I have also been charged with inconsistency. In the autumn of 1914, Theodore Roosevelt made a speech in which he brought forward the idea of a League of Nations for the prevention of future wars. In the following June, of 1915, speaking at Union College in New York on Commencement, I took up the same idea and discussed the establishment of a League of Nations backed by force. I spoke of it only in general terms. I spoke again in favor of it in the following winter before the meeting of the League to Enforce Peace.

But the more I reflected upon it and the more I studied it the more difficult the problem appeared to me. It became very clear to me that in trying to do too much we might lose all; that there were many obstacles and many dangers in the way; and that it would require the greatest skill and self-restraint on the part of the nations to make any league that would really promote and strengthen and make more secure the peace of the world.

In January, 1917, the President of the United States brought forward a plan for a League to Enforce Peace in an address to the Senate, and I discussed it at some length, showing the dangers

of the proposition and the perils which it would bring, not only to peace but to the United States.

During all this time, I may say, I was in consultation or I was talking with Theodore Roosevelt in regard to it. His position and mine did not then differ.

On December 21 I made a speech in the Senate in which I discussed the 14 points and some of the momentous questions raised by the proposition for a League of Nations.

#### ROOSEVELT GAVE ATTITUDE FULL APPROVAL

Colonel Roosevelt wrote an article in the *Kansas City Star* upon that speech, approving it and commending it. I read a single paragraph from it:

Our need is not as great as that of the vast scattered British Empire, for our domains are pretty much in a ring fence. We ought not to undertake the task of policing Europe, Asia and Northern Africa; neither ought we to permit any interference with the Monroe doctrine, or any attempt by Europe or Asia to police America. Mexico is our Balkan Peninsula. Some day we will have to deal with it. All the coasts and islands which in any way approach the Panama Canal must be dealt with by this nation, and by this nation in accordance with the Monroe doctrine.

On January 3 of the present year—the Friday before his death—he dictated another editorial which appeared in the *Kansas City Star* after his death. I wish time would permit me to read it all, but I will read only one paragraph:

. . . Let each nation reserve to itself and for its own decision, and let it clearly set forth, questions which are nonjusticiable. . . . Finally, make it perfectly clear that we do not intend to take a position of an international Meddlesome Mattie. The American people do not wish to go into an overseas war unless for a very great cause, and where the issue is absolutely plain. Therefore, we do not wish to undertake the responsibility of sending our gallant young men to die in obscure fights in the Balkans or in Central Europe, or in a war we do not approve of. Moreover, the American people do not intend to give up the Monroe doctrine. Let civilized Europe and Asia introduce some kind of police system in

the weak and disorderly countries at their thresholds. But let the United States treat Mexico as our Balkan Peninsula and refuse to allow European or Asiatic powers to interfere on this continent in any way that implies permanent or semi-permanent possession. Every one of our Allies will with delight grant this request if President Wilson chooses to make it, and it will be a great misfortune if it is not made.

Two weeks before his death I was with Theodore Roosevelt for some hours, seeing him for two mornings in succession. The draft now before the country was not then before us, but we discussed fully the League of Nations in all its bearings. We were in entire agreement.

The position that I have taken, and now take, had his full approval. The line I have followed in the Senate and elsewhere was the one he wished to have followed. I do not say this to transfer any responsibility from my shoulders to his. All I do and all I say is on my own responsibility alone. But it is a help and a strength to me to feel that I have behind me the approval, the support of the great American, the great patriot, the great man whose death has been such a grievous loss, not only to the United States, but to the entire world in this hour.

#### TAKES UP ALLEGED INCONSISTENCY

Now, just a word in regard to inconsistency. I do not think I have been inconsistent, but it does not matter whether I have or not. Individual inconsistencies have no relation to the merits of any question. If nobody ever changed their minds, it would be a stagnant world. The only difficulty comes, as it comes with many habits, harmless in moderation, but dangerous in excess.

When inconsistencies become excessive they are apt to suggest self-seeking and insincerity or lack of real conviction. I think it is hardly worth while to discuss inconsistencies. No one can tell where the discussion may lead.

On May 6, 1914, at the unveiling of the Barry monument in Washington, President Wilson said:

There are just as vital things stirring now that concern the existence of the nation as were stirring then, and every man who worthily stands in this presence should examine himself and see whether he has the full conception of what it means that America should live her own life. Washington saw it when he wrote his Farewell Address. It was not merely because of passing and transient circumstances that Washington said that we must keep from entangling alliances.

I pause a moment to say that Washington did not say that we should keep clear from entangling alliances in the Farewell Address. He said that we should keep clear of permanent alliances, and that temporary alliances would be sufficient to meet an emergency—as they were in the war just closed.

I merely mention this because the phrase “entangling alliances,” which is so familiar to the country, was the utterance of Thomas Jefferson in his first inaugural. He warned us from entangling alliances. He, too, like Washington, I know is considered antiquated by many people. I merely recall it for the benefit of Jeffersonian Democrats, if any still survive.

In Washington on January 6, 1916, addressing the Pan American Congress, President Wilson said:

The Monroe doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It always has been maintained and always will be maintained upon her own responsibility.

I think I am not to blame for wishing it to be maintained now.

#### ALL AGREED IN DESIRING PEACE

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we are all agreed in desiring the security of the peace of the world. I am not going to argue such a question as that. We all hate war, and let me say to you that nobody can hate or abhor war more than those upon whose shoulders rested the dread responsibility of declaring war and sending forth the flower of our youth to battle. A man who has once borne that responsibility never can forget it. I should no more think of arguing to you that peace is better than war than I should think of insulting your intelligence by arguing that virtue is bet-

ter than vice. We may dismiss it. We are equally desirous, I think, most of us certainly are desirous of doing all we can, through a union, or league, or alliance of the nations, to make the peace of the world secure—more secure, at all events, than it has ever been before. I will not stop to argue that.

The question before us, the only question of a practical nature, is whether the League that has been drafted by the Commission of the Peace Conference and laid before it will tend to secure the peace of the world as it stands, and whether it is just and fair to the United States of America. That is the question, and I want now, very briefly, to bring it to the test.

Wars between nations come from contacts. A nation with which we have no contact is a nation with which we should never fight. But contacts, foreign relations between nations are necessary and inevitable, and the object of all diplomacy and statesmanship is to make these contacts and relations as harmonious as possible, because in these contacts is found the origin of all war.

In this scheme for a League now before us we create a number of new contracts, a number of new relations, which nations have not undertaken before to create.

#### LEAGUES OF HISTORY NOT VERY SUCCESSFUL

There have been many leagues. There is nothing new in the idea of a league. They go back to the days of Greece. There is the Peace of Westphalia, the League of Cambrai. I believe there are some 30 altogether in the pages of history, none of them very successful. And in the Holy Alliance of 1815 another attempt was made, and that time a league to preserve peace. But we are approaching this League on a different basis and on a different theory from any I believe ever attempted. We are reaching for a great object, playing for a great stake. But we are creating new contacts. Therefore, we should examine all the propositions with the utmost care before we give an assent to them.

I take first the form of the draft without regard to its substance. There were four drafts presented to the Commission, one by Italy, one by France, one by the United States, and one



by Great Britain. The British draft was the one selected. You can find in the treaty, if you will compare it with the plan put forth by General Smuts in January, that some paragraphs were taken from his plan with but slight changes. How nearly the draft presented conforms to the British draft we have no means of knowing.

#### DRAFT OBSCURELY AND LOOSELY DRAWN

The drafts offered by the other countries have never been discussed, although we are living in the era of "open covenants openly arrived at." I hope in the course of a few years that those drafts may appear in the volumes published by Congress which contain an account of our foreign relations. The draft appears to me, and I think to anyone who has examined it with care, to have been very loosely and obscurely drawn. It seems to me that Lord Robert Cecil, who I believe is principally responsible for it, should have put it in the hands of a parliamentary draftsman before it was submitted. A constitution or a treaty ought to be in legal, statutory or constitutional language, and not in the language selected for this purpose.

The language of that draft is of immense importance, because it is necessary that there should be just as few differences of opinion as to the meaning of the articles of that draft as human ingenuity can provide against. No man, be he president or senator, can fix what the interpretation of that draft is.

The draft itself, the articles themselves, should answer as far as possible all questions. There is no court to pass upon them. They would have to be decided by the nine powers whose representatives compose the Executive Council. The people who are for this draft of a League and those who are against it differ about the construction of nearly every article. And, not only that, but those who are for it differ among themselves, and those who are against it differ among themselves, as to its construction. There will be differences arising out of that very porous instrument. There will be differences arising before a twelvemonth has passed among the very nations that signed it.

Mr. Taft said on the 7th of March:

Undoubtedly the Covenant needs revision. It is not symmetrically arranged, its meaning has to be dug out and the language is ponderous and in diplomatic patois.

I have said nothing about the draft as severe or as well put and as thoroughly descriptive as that.

Lately the phrase has been much used, especially when an answer was not very easy, that criticism must be constructive, not destructive. It was a convenient way of answering awkward questions and evidently those who use it, and use it freely, have never stopped to think that there are some cases where criticism must be constructive as well as destructive and some where it must be destructive alone. For instance, in discussing slavery we criticise it in order to kill, and we do not expect that a substitute shall be offered for it. If a burglar breaks into my house and threatens the death of my wife and children, I should try if I could to shoot him. That is destructive criticism, and I should not think it necessary to precede it with a proposition that he should engage in some other and less dangerous occupation.

#### REDRAFT LEAGUE IN PLAIN LANGUAGE

Now this is a case where constructive criticism is clearly needed, and my first constructive criticism is that this League ought to be redrafted and put in language that everybody can understand. By doing that you will remove at once many causes of difference and dispute, and you want the instrument to diminish disputes, and increase harmony, because its purpose is to promote peace.

Another point which applies not only to the necessity of clear and definite language in the great instrument, but to the whole treaty, or to any treaty or any alliance or league that we make, and that is to remember this—that the sanctity of treaties is above everything else important. Whatever a country agrees to, that the country must maintain.

The sanctity of treaties lies at the basis of all peace, and there-

fore we must be as careful as possible to remove all chances of disagreement arising out of conflicting interpretations of language.

As I have said, my first constructive criticism is that we should have a revision of the language and form of the draft.

Now, in discussing the draft of the League I can only deal with the most important points. To analyze those articles of that League as they should be analyzed would take many hours.

But I will speak of one point which runs all through it, and that is that there are so many places where it says that the Executive Council—which is the real seat of authority—the Executive Council shall recommend, or advise, or propose measures, and it fails to say by what vote they shall do it. There are one or two places where it is stated there shall be a two-thirds vote, another case where it shall be unanimous; but in most cases it is not stated.

Now, either there should be a clause in there saying that where not otherwise stated, the decision of the Executive Council shall be by a majority vote, or else it ought to be expressed in every article where they are called upon to make a recommendation, or a proposal, or a decision of any kind.

Again let me quote from Mr. Taft. He says, speaking of ambiguous phrases:

One of these, for instance, is in respect to the Executive Council. Will it need a unanimous vote or will a majority vote be sufficient, where there is no specification?

That puts the point extremely well, and I think there should be another change. I offer that as a second constructive criticism.

#### MONROE DOCTRINE DIFFERENTIATES HEMISPHERES

I now come to what seems to me a very vital point indeed, and that is the Monroe doctrine. I shall not undertake to trace the history of the doctrine or of its development since Mr. Monroe first declared it. But in its essence it rests upon the proposition of separating the Americas from Europe in all matters political. It rests on the differentiation of the American hemisphere from

Europe, and therefore I have found it difficult to understand an argument first advanced with more confidence, perhaps, than it is now—that we preserve the Monroe doctrine by extending it. The Monroe doctrine was the invisible line that we drew around the American hemisphere. It was the fence that we put around it to exclude other nations from meddling in American affairs, and I have never been able to get it through my head how you can preserve a fence by taking it down.

The Monroe doctrine is the corollary of Washington's foreign policy declared in the Farewell Address. I am not going to base any argument upon it, but it is a mistake to consider the policy laid down by Washington and Monroe as ephemeral and necessarily transient. As Mr. Wilson well said, Washington's doctrine was not transient. It may be wrong; the time may have come to discard it; but it is not ephemeral because it rests on two permanent facts—human nature and geography.

Human nature, you may say, has changed. When you study the history of the past, as far as we have a history, there is a curious similarity in it at all stages. But one thing is certain,—not even the wisest and most optimistic of reformers can change the geography of the globe. They say communication has quickened enormously. The Atlantic Ocean is not what it was as a barrier, or the Pacific either, I suppose. But do not forget that even under modern conditions the silver streak, the little Channel only 20 miles wide, was England's bulwark and defense in this last war. Do not underrate the 3,000 miles of Atlantic. It was on that that the Monroe doctrine, the corollary of Washington's policy, rested.

Great systems of morality and philosophy have been taught and preached, two thousand, twenty-five hundred, three thousand years ago. They may be wrong. But they are neither transient nor ephemeral because they rest upon the eternal verities. And when you come to discard a policy like that it is well to realize what you are abandoning and what its importance is.

The Monroe doctrine has been expanded. A resolution was passed unanimously in the Senate a few years ago stating that

the United States would regard it as an act of hostility for any corporation or association or any other nation to take possession of Magdalena Bay, being a post of great strategic, naval and military advantage. That did not rest on the Monroe doctrine. It rested on something deeper than that. It rested on the basis of the Monroe doctrine, the great law of self-preservation. They say that if we demand the exclusion of the Monroe doctrine from the operation of the League, they will demand compensation. Very well. Let them exclude us from meddling in Europe. That is not a burden that we are seeking to bear. We are ready to go there at any time to save the world from barbarism and tyranny, but we are not thirsting to interfere in every obscure quarrel that may spring up in the Balkans.

Mr. Taft says that the Covenant "should be made more definite by a larger reservation of the Monroe doctrine." I agree entirely. I offer that as my third constructive criticism, that there should be a larger reservation of the Monroe doctrine, and when the leading advocate of this draft takes that position it seems to me it can not be a very unreasonable one.

#### DENIES FOREIGN JURISDICTION OVER IMMIGRATION

There is the question of immigration which this treaty reaches under the nonjusticiable questions. I am told and I believe (I have followed it through all the windings) that a final decision could only be reached by unanimity, and it is said that the League would not be unanimous. I think that highly probable, but I deny the jurisdiction. I cannot personally accede to the proposition that other nations, that a body of men in executive council where we as a nation have but one vote, shall have any power, unanimous or otherwise, to say who shall come into the United States. It must not be within the jurisdiction of the League at all. It lies at the foundation of national character and national well-being. There should be no possible jurisdiction over the power which defends this country from a flood of Japanese, Chinese and Hindu labor.

The tariff is involved in the article for the boycott. The coast-wise trade is involved in Art. XXI. I think we ought to settle our own import duties. They say it is a domestic question. So it is, so is immigration; but they are domestic questions with international relations.

Moreover—and I know some people think this is a far-fetched objection—having other nations meddle with our tariff runs up against a provision of the Constitution. The Constitution provides that all revenue bills shall originate in the House of Representatives. Now I do not offer that as a final objection. No doubt we could amend our Constitution to fit the League, but it would take some time; and I think it is better to steer clear of the Constitution in cases like that.

And I offer an amendment, already proposed by Senator Owen of Oklahoma, an ardent Democrat, and a supporter of the League, to exclude international questions of the character of immigration and the tariff from the jurisdiction of the League. I present that as a fourth constructive criticism.

#### NO PROVISION FOR GETTING OUT

This treaty is indissoluble. There is no provision for withdrawal or termination. In the old days—very old days—they were in the habit of beginning treaties by swearing eternal friendship, which made them last no longer. That has been given up. In modern times almost all the treaties that we now have contain provisions for termination or withdrawal on notice. If there is no provision for withdrawal you are thrown back on denunciation or abrogation by one nation.

I have been surprised to hear in the Senate and elsewhere the statement that this was only a treaty and that we could abrogate it by an act of Congress at any time,—as we can under the decisions of the Supreme Court.

Why, ladies and gentlemen, nothing could be worse than that. No greater misfortune could befall the peace of the world than to have a nation, especially a powerful nation, abrogate the treaty.

It is usually a preliminary to war. It is in many cases, at least. There ought to be some provision by which a withdrawal could be effected without any breach of the peace or any injury to the cause.

Mr. Taft says: "The Covenant should also be made more definite as to when its obligations may be terminated." I offer that as another constructive criticism.

### MANDATORY RESPONSIBILITY GRAVE

I am obliged to move rapidly for my time is expiring, but there are two great points that I cannot leave wholly untouched.

One is Art. XIX, providing for mandatories. It does not say who shall select the mandatory. The provision is, that a nation may be selected to take charge of a weak or a backward people and be appointed by the League to that work. It has been suggested that we should take charge of Constantinople; that we should take charge of Armenia and Mesopotamia and Syria. I am not going to argue it at length. I am not as deeply opposed to that provision as many others—as most other people are, as I believe the American people are. But it is a very grave responsibility to take charge of some distant people, furnish them with civilians to carry on their government, furnish them with an army to protect them, and send our young men away on that business. We have done it in Haiti, we have done it in San Domingo, we have done it in Nicaragua, and are doing it now. That is all within the Monroe doctrine; that is all within our own "ring fence." We must do it; we owe it to the world, and we are quite capable of doing it successfully. But this is a demand to go out through Asia, Africa and Europe and take up the tutelage of other people.

### GUARANTY ARTICLE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL

Then comes Art. X. That is the most important article in the whole treaty. That is the one that I want the American people to consider, take it to their homes and their firesides, dis-

cuss it, think of it. If they commend it the treaty will be ratified and proclaimed with that in it. But think of it first, think well. This article pledges us to guarantee the political independence and the territorial integrity against external aggression of every nation a member of the League. That is, every nation of the earth. We ask no guaranties, we have no endangered frontiers; but we are asked to guarantee the territorial integrity of every nation, practically, in the world—it will be when the League is complete. As it is to-day, we guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of every part of the far-flung British Empire.

Now mark! A guaranty is never invoked except when force is needed. If we guaranteed one country in South America alone, if we were the only guarantor, and we guaranteed but one country, we should be bound to go to the relief of that country with army and navy. We, under that clause of this treaty—it is one of the few that is perfectly clear—under that clause of the treaty we have got to take our army and our navy and go to war with any country which attempts aggression upon the territorial integrity of another member of the League.

Now, guaranties must be fulfilled. They are sacred promises,—it has been said only morally binding. Why, that is all there is to a treaty between great nations. If they are not morally binding they are nothing but “scraps of paper.” If the United States agrees to Art. X, we must carry it out in letter and in spirit; and if it is agreed to I should insist that we did so, because the honor and good faith of our country would be at stake.

Now, that is a tremendous promise to make. I ask those—the fathers and the mothers, the sisters and the wives and the sweet-hearts, whether they are ready yet to guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of every nation on earth against external aggression, and to send the hope of their families, the hope of the nation, the best of our youth, forth into the world on that errand?

If they are, it will be done. If the American people is not ready to do it that article will have to go out of the treaty or be limited.



## FRANCE COULD NOT HAVE HELPED IN REVOLUTION

If that League with that article had existed in the eighteenth century, France could not have assisted this country to win the Revolution. If that League had existed in 1898 we could not have interfered and rescued Cuba from the clutches of Spain; we should have brought a war on with all the other nations of the world.

Perhaps the time has come to do it. I only wish to-night to call your attention to the gravity of that promise. To what it means, that it is morally binding, that there is no escape when a guaranty of that sort is invoked. Think it over well; that is all I ask. Consider it. And remember that we must make no promise, enter into no agreement, which we are not going to carry out in letter and in spirit without restriction and without deduction.

## THE PRESIDING OFFICER

The next to address you is the President of Harvard University,—an educator renowned throughout the world, a learned student of statesmanship, endowed with a wisdom which has made him a leader of men, truly a Master of Arts, eminently a Doctor of Laws, a fitting representative of the Massachusetts domain of letters,—Abbott Lawrence Lowell.

## A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

Senator Lodge has been so long in public life and has rendered such eminent services, that I regard him not only as a statesman, but almost as an institution. For his ability and courage I have the highest respect, and I have usually been in accord with his opinions. Moreover I have always been inconsistently Republican. But, although I suspect that we differ much less about a League of Nations than might appear on the surface, I cannot agree with his utterances, and still less with those of some of his senatorial colleagues, on the draft of a Covenant reported to the Conference at Paris. We both feel that this Covenant is, as it stands, defective, but the difference is that I feel that when those defects have been removed, the Covenant ought to be ratified,—and he does not tell us whether he thinks so or not.

Few, if any, Americans hold the doctrine, propounded by certain German writers, that war is in itself good. Few do not desire peace among men; and it would probably be safe to go farther and say that the vast majority of our people welcome the idea of a League of Nations to prevent war, even if it involves some inconvenience for us. There is naturally, however, much difference of opinion about the form such a league should take; and any concrete plan that could be presented would not accord entirely with most men's preconceived ideas, if they have any; or, if they have not, would involve difficulties that they had not foreseen as inevitable; with the result that criticism breaks forth

in abundance. This has been, and must always be, true of every step in human progress. Every advance goes through the stages of general aspiration, of concrete plan and of sharp criticism, before it becomes established. The process is normal, healthy and instructive.

#### ESSENTIALS OF AN EFFECTIVE LEAGUE TO PREVENT WAR

Before examining the nature of the plan proposed in the Covenant of Paris it may be well to consider the minimum essentials of an effective League of Nations to prevent war. Everyone will agree that such a league must forbid a resort to arms before submitting the question in dispute to a public trial, arbitration or inquiry of some kind; and probably it ought also to forbid a resort to arms after an award which is universally believed to be right and just. Such a delay before hostilities will not prevent all wars, but it will make them much less common, and it will wholly prevent a nation from deliberately planning a war, as Germany did, and seeking the advantage of surprise when its victims are unprepared. It is generally assumed that, if Germany had not possessed that advantage, she would not have gone to war. Obviously, the submission to arbitration must be compulsory, for if not, the condition is nowise different from what it has been hitherto; and the compulsion,—the sanction, as the lawyers say,—the punishment for the offender, must be such that no nation would venture to incur it; for the more severe, the more certain, the more immediate the penalty, the less the chance that any bellicose nation would run the risk. The country that goes to war before submitting its case to arbitration must be regarded as a criminal against mankind, and treated instantly as an outlaw and a common enemy by the rest of the world, or by those nations which bind themselves together for the maintenance of order. For this reason the League to Enforce Peace has always insisted that the penalty should not be decreed by a council of the League, which would involve delay, possible disagreement and inaction; but automatically, that is, the members

of the League should bind themselves jointly and severally to resist the aggressor at once. In this way the members would stand together, and an attack on one would be *ipso facto* an attack on all; and if the League contained, as we expect, by far the greater part of the world, no nation would, for a moment, contemplate war with such a coalition, and therefore wars would not occur before arbitration.

The principle should apply not only to disputes among the members of the League, but also to dissensions between other nations not belonging to the League, because war, like fire, has a tendency to spread, and no one in a community has a right to start a conflagration which his neighbors have not a right to put out.

#### VALUE OF COUNCILS FOR CONFERENCE BUT NO POWER

Although the penalty against the aggressor is automatic in the sense that it does not depend upon the action of an international council, nevertheless such a council for purposes, not of command, but of consultation, is highly beneficial. It tends to remove friction by enabling nations to understand one another's point of view, and to reconcile or adjust differences before they reach an acute stage. Most plans for a League of Nations have, I believe, proposed two such bodies: one large and comprehensive, for the discussion of general problems, with an opportunity for the presentation of all possible opinions, but too large for confidential interchange of ideas; the other smaller, representing mainly those countries on whom the burden, in case of breach of the peace, would chiefly rest, a body small enough to work out in detail recommendations to be submitted to the members of the League for acceptance, modification or rejection.

Senator Lodge says that if people get together to talk over things they are making points of contact, and points of contact are points of friction. When Voltaire read Rousseau's book on "The Natural Man" he said: "You make me feel like going back to the woods and walking on all fours." If in order to avoid points of friction we must isolate the nations, why not isolate every

individual? Points whereby men get together are not points of friction. The more men can get together the less, on the whole, they disagree. It is the lone traveler, it is the lone brigand, it is the lone man out on the plains who carries a rifle across his saddle-bow and a pistol in his holster who is likely to fight another man when he comes in contact with him; not the man in the great city.

It is idle to suppose that because you have a conference of men who meet together that they are likely to foment strife among themselves. On the contrary, they talk over their difficulties, and what is far more important than anything else, they learn one another's point of view. We try to encourage men to travel in other countries, because it creates points of contact and reduces points of friction. Because it makes people understand one another and tends on the whole to the peace of the world.

Let us, therefore, have all the points of contact that we can, and in such an imaginary League as I have suggested we shall not only have an arrangement by which nations will stop war, but by which they will have the utmost opportunity of talking over their difficulties. Let us have councils; councils with no authority, if you please, but councils to talk.

It will, I think, be generally agreed by all persons who desire a League of Nations that these points are the essential minimum of any league that can be effective in preventing war. Let us now examine how far the Covenant of Paris covers these points and what else it covers.

#### THE COVENANT DEFECTIVELY DRAFTED

The Covenant is very defective in its drafting. In places it is so obscure that the meaning is often inaccurately expressed and sometimes doubtful. It is easily misunderstood, and has in fact been widely misunderstood. To give a single example of what must be defective drafting, Article XVI provides that if any country resorts to war in disregard of its Covenant, the members of the League shall immediately prevent all financial, commercial and personal intercourse between the nationals (that is,

the citizens) of the covenant breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not. It is not difficult for members of the League to prevent their own citizens from trading with the citizens of the offending country, but how about the citizens of other countries not members of the League? No doubt the framers of this clause had in mind a blockade; but what if the offender's land frontiers border upon countries not members of the League? Suppose, for example, that the new state of Poland should, contrary to her Covenant, attack Czecho-Slovakia. How are the leagued nations to prevent the Poles from trading with the Russians and Germans on the East and West? Apparently something here is wrong.

The meaning of the Covenant should be made perfectly certain, and we may assume that every effort will be made to effect this, because when people know what they intend, and want the whole world to know what they intend, they are naturally willing to make their meaning clear.

#### THE COVENANT IS ONLY A DRAFT

Let us remember that in its present shape the Covenant is intended only as a draft, subject to correction; for if it were regarded as finished and unchangeable, it would not have been given out until submitted for ratification. It is defective as is all unfinished legislation that embodies much of compromise. For the first time we have an experiment in open diplomacy, the public being admitted to inspect the process before it is completed. It would certainly be unfortunate for that experiment if criticism of the draft were purely destructive; and yet we have had little criticism of a constructive character. From those, and they are many, who profess to believe in a League of Nations, but not in this particular plan, we have heard little or nothing of the way this plan could be improved to meet their views. Criticism seems to have been left almost wholly to those who object to a League of Nations altogether.

I agree fully with Senator Lodge that if you see a burglar entering your house you shoot him, but you shoot him not for the

purpose of improving the burglar—it is because you do not wish to improve the burglar. Of course, if you look on this treaty as a burglar, shoot it; but, for goodness' sake, say you are trying to shoot it and not that you are trying to improve it by destructive criticism.

WHEN THE INTENT IS CLEAR THE COVENANT MEANS WHAT  
IT SAYS

Having observed that the drafting of the Covenant is defective, I am not further concerned here with pointing out errors or suggesting improvements in drafting, but with the substance of the plan—with the character of the League which the representatives of 14 nations agreed upon unanimously. But I should like to suggest one amendment that would not change in the least the meaning of the Covenant where its wording is precise, but would greatly clarify further discussion, and remove many objections raised by Senators. It would consist of an additional article reading as follows:

“The obligations assumed by the members of the League are only those which they agree to assume by this Covenant, and not others which they do not hereby agree to assume. Furthermore, the powers possessed by the organs of the League are those, and only those, conferred upon them by this Covenant.”

Or the same thing might be expressed more briefly thus: “Where its intent is clear, this Covenant means what it says, and not something else.”

In spite of all its defects in drafting such a clause would help some of our opponents to construe the document. In my argument I shall assume that this clause has been added to the Covenant, or is unnecessary. For example, when the Covenant says that the Executive Council of the League shall “advise” or “recommend” or “determine for the consideration and action of the several governments” or “formulate plans” or “propose measures,” I assume that it means what it says. To advise or recommend means to suggest, to propose, to advocate—in short, to recommend—for consideration by someone else, not to give

an order to someone who is obliged to obey; and when the members of the League agree that their Executive Council may advise or recommend a course of action, they agree to consider that recommendation, but they assume no obligation, legal or moral, to follow it if they do not approve of it. Much of the misunderstanding of the plan prepared in Paris has come from a failure to keep this fact in mind,—and yet it would seem fairly obvious.

#### OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE

By the Covenant the members of the League assume several grave obligations. Senator Lodge did not put in the least too severely, too weightily, the gravity of the duties which the members are to undertake. The question is whether, grave as they are, they are worth undertaking for the sake of preventing war—that is the question which we shall have to face.

Now, in order to understand what they are I shall have to weary your patience a little by going through that document and telling you what they are, and I will ask you to listen patiently, because the whole question of what we are to do depends upon what we actually agree to do.

We may here observe that the attempt to make out different classes of members, distinguished as protocol members, signatories, high contracting parties and simple members, has no foundation in the language of the Covenant. The high contracting parties are the nations that make the agreement, sign it and are to be mentioned in its protocol. They are all the members, and the only members, of the League, until new members are admitted with the same full rights of membership. The only difference between the members is that the five chief powers have the privilege of being always represented on the Executive Council.

The principal obligations assumed by the members of the League are:

“To respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence” of the members of the League (Art. X).



(I do not mean to comment as I go along, but Senator Lodge has referred to this and said that if it had been in existence we could not have taken Cuba, that France could not have joined against England with us in the Revolutionary War. But I want merely to add that had there been such a League with this provision the late war could not have occurred. Was the Spanish War by which we freed Cuba worth this war? That is the sort of question that we have to decide.)

To submit any disputes that shall arise between them to arbitration (Art. XIII), or to inquiry by the Executive Council, or in certain cases to the Body of Delegates, and communicate to the Secretary General of the League for publication a statement of the case, with all the relevant facts and papers (Art. XV).

To carry out in full good faith the award of an arbitration if they voluntarily agree to go to arbitration (Art. XIII); (but it may be observed that they do not agree to comply with the result of an inquiry by the Executive Council or the Body of Delegates).

Not to resort to war against any other member of the League without previously submitting the matter to arbitration or inquiry, or until three months after the award; nor to go to war with a member of the League that complies with the award (Art. XII) or with a recommendation of the Executive Council or Body of Delegates which is unanimous (except for the parties to the dispute) (Art. XV).

#### THE SANCTIONS, OR PENALTIES FOR OFFENDERS

Then come the sanctions, that is, the provisions for enforcement or punishment for breach of these covenants. These are contained in Article XVI, which provides that, should any member of the League break or disregard its agreement not to go to war without arbitration, or not to go to war with a member that complies with the award or unanimous recommendation, "it shall thereby *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade and

financial relations, and the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant breaking state, etc." The members "agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures that may be taken"; "that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number"; and "that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League."

### OBLIGATION TO GO TO WAR?

This is an agreement for an immediate and automatic boycott, or outlawry, of the offending state by the members of the League, —certainly a vigorous form of sanction, highly unlikely to be defied, the more so, as it would almost inevitably involve war with all the nations in the League. Whether it was intended that the state which, in violation of the Covenant, levied war on one member of the League should be *ipso facto* at war with all the rest does not seem to me clear. The Covenant does not say so, for an act of war is not necessarily a state of war; and yet the provisions about mutually supporting one another against attacks, about the passage of troops, and a clause in the same article that the Executive Council shall recommend what "military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League," seem to contemplate a general war in such a case.

Moreover, M. Bourgeois, the only one of the four members of the Committee speaking on the presentation of the draft whose remarks throw any light upon this point, said: "Take a state that violates the international covenant. That state is supposed to be in a state of war against all the members of the League." It seems to me that it would be wiser to have it so, because the fact that an attack against any member would automatically mean war with all the others would be a stronger deterrent, would render such an attack, and the general war it would inevit-

ably entail, even more remotely improbable than an apparently smaller penalty. Whatever the intention, it ought, of course, to be made perfectly clear beyond the shadow of a doubt.

It may be observed that an outside power threatening war is to be treated, so far as war is concerned, in the same way as a member of the League.

We hear the dread expressed, "Are we to send our sons abroad?" But if we make an agreement of that sort and the nation which violates must go to war with the whole world, there is no danger of it whatever. There is no more danger than there is of a rough attacking a body of a dozen policemen. It does not happen, it can not happen, it will not happen. It is like this question of our being called out to defend the British Empire. If any small state attacks the British Empire the British Empire can look out for itself and we need do nothing about it. If any great nation attacks the British Empire—well, it happened this time, and we went in whether we had a treaty or not.

#### OTHER OBLIGATIONS

The members of the League agree to pay the expenses of the Secretariat in the ratio of their contributions to the Universal Postal Union (Art. V). They further agree not to conceal the condition of their industries capable of being adapted to warlike purposes, and to interchange information fully and frankly about their military and naval programs (Art. VIII). They agree to endeavor to secure fair and humane treatment of labor at home and in all countries with which they trade (Art. XX); to maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce for all members of the League (Art. XXI); to place international bureaus under the control of the League (Art. XXII); to register all treaties, and agree that treaties until registered shall not be binding (Art. XXIII); and, finally, that all obligations among members of the League inconsistent with the Covenant are abrogated, and that no engagements inconsistent therewith shall be made.

THE OBLIGATIONS ARE DIRECT AND ABSOLUTE: NOT  
DISCRETIONARY

These, with the duty of sending its representatives, are the positive obligations assumed by the members of the League; and it may be observed that they are direct obligations upon the members to do, or abstain from, definite acts, either continuously, or on the happening of the events described; never under the orders, or by the direction, of any organ of the League. The members agree to preserve one another's integrity and independence absolutely, not when directed to do so by the League. If a member of the League is attacked before arbitration, they agree to boycott the offender immediately, not if called upon to do so by the Executive Council; and so on throughout the list. Their obligations are specified, not discretionary, still less arbitrary, on the part of any international body or authority. For the most part they are devised with the object of preventing war, and especially unjust or predatory war. In that respect they follow very closely the minimum essentials for a League of Nations to prevent war described in the opening of this address, and they seem effectively designed for the purpose.

FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Let us now turn to the functions of the representative organs of the League. The most important of these is the Executive Council, which is to consist of representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and of four other states that are members of the League, those states being selected by the Body of Delegates. The Executive Council so constituted is given authority to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments (Art. VIII); to advise how the evils of private manufacture of munitions can be prevented (Art. VIII); to advise upon the means by which the integrity and independence of the members of the League may be preserved in case of aggression, or danger thereof (Art. X); to propose what shall be done if a state fails to carry out the award of an arbitration by which it has

agreed to abide (Art. XIII); to formulate plans for a permanent court of international justice (Art. XIV); to inquire into disputes between states and make recommendations thereon (or refer the matter to the Body of Delegates for inquiry), and to propose measures to give effect to its own unanimous recommendations in such cases (Art. XV). If a state goes to war contrary to its covenants and thereby draws upon itself the sanction provided in the agreement of the members, it is the duty of the Executive Council to recommend what military or naval forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to protect the covenants of the League (Art. XVI). The Council can further prescribe the conditions upon which a state not a member of the League shall accept the obligations of membership for the purpose of a particular dispute, and in case of refusal it may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities (Art. XVII).

#### POWERS OF THE COUNCIL PURELY ADVISORY

So far the authority of the Executive Council, with regard to the members of the League, is strictly limited to consultation and making recommendations, which the members of the League are under no obligation to accept unless they please.

#### EXCEPT IN THREE CASES

I can, in fact, find only three cases in which the Council is given the power to make any orders, regulations or decisions binding upon the members of the League or limiting their freedom of action. The first of these arises when the Council acting in a judicial or arbitral capacity makes a recommendation which is unanimous, except for the parties to the dispute. In that case a state is bound not to go to war with any party that complies with the recommendation, and to take part in the punishment of any other state that goes to war with a party so complying (Art. XV). To that extent a unanimous decision of the Council in case of a dispute is binding on the members of the League, and no one would probably desire that it should be otherwise.

Another case of a binding decision relates to the reduction of armaments. When the Council has determined, for the consideration and action of the several Governments, what armament is fair and reasonable, and the plan is adopted by them, the limits thus adopted by those Governments can not afterward be exceeded without the permission of the Council (Art. VIII). In this case the Covenant forbids a member of the League to increase its armament without the approval of the Council, but only after the member has specially and voluntarily consented to a general plan of reduction.

### THE POSITION OF A MANDATORY

The third case is that of a mandatory for a backward people. "The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory state" is to "be explicitly defined in each case by the Executive Council in a special act or charter" (Art. XIX). It has been asserted that a state selected as a mandatory (presumably by the Executive Council, although this is not expressly stated), is under an obligation to accept. I can find in the Covenant no provision to that effect, expressed or implied; nor would such an obligation appear reasonable. To suppose that the representatives of France, Italy, the United States or any other of the 14 states on the Committee intended that if the Council should select their country as mandatory to take charge of Russia it would be obliged to accept, seems to me in the highest degree improbable, and the same thing is true of less difficult mandates. It is a general principle that in any document an intention, not expressed and in itself irrational, is not to be implied. No doubt a spirit of fairness would prevent a nation, engaged with others in a common effort for human welfare, from shirking all burdens it has not expressly agreed to assume; but that is a very different thing from an obligation to accept any burden that may be thrust upon it. The matter should, of course, be made perfectly clear in the final draft.

The principle of mandatories seems to me highly meritorious. It has, I understand, two objects, one to prevent maltreatment of

the native population, and the other to prevent a selfish monopoly of products that may be essential to the industry and prosperity of the world. For both these purposes there is clearly a right of collective supervision and control, at least by all the nations that have taken part in the conquest of the colonies and territories concerned. If Germany and her allies had not been beaten these possessions would not have been permanently captured; and every nation that helped to win the war helped to conquer them. Therefore we, as one of those nations that helped to acquire them, have a right, and have no less a duty, to see that they are properly administered; and there is no need of making a bugbear of it.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL

The remaining functions of the Executive Council are of a somewhat routine character. It regulates its own procedure (Art. IV), chooses the Secretary General, whose duties are clerical (Art. V); apparently it supervises the trade in arms with the countries in which the control of the traffic is necessary in the common interest (Art. XVIII); appoints bureaus and committees with advisory powers (Arts. IX, XIX, XX); and is to control international administrative bureaus, such as that of the Postal Union and the many others that have since been established for common convenience (Art. XXII).

#### THE BODY OF DELEGATES

The functions of the Body of Delegates are still less extensive, consisting almost entirely of the discussion of matters within the sphere of action of the League. The only cases—apart from the regulation of its own procedure—where it is given power to make binding decisions, are the selection of the four countries, which, in addition to the five chief powers, are to have seats in the Executive Council; and the case where a matter in dispute between two states is referred to the Body for inquiry, in which case its recommendation has the same effect as if made by the Executive Council.

## THE NATURE OF THE LEAGUE

This analysis of the plan for a League set forth in the Covenant of Paris shows how closely it resembles the sketch of the minimum essentials of such a League in the opening of this address. It shows also that the fear of a super-sovereign body, to which we are asked to sacrifice our independence, is the creation of an overheated imagination. If we assume that the Covenant means what it says, and not something wholly different, no organ of the League has any authority to give commands to this country that need give us a moment's anxiety. The only substantial powers that any such body is to possess, beyond making recommendations which we may follow or not as we think right, are derived from a unanimous decision in an international dispute, and from the right to forbid an increase in armaments or to direct the duties of a mandate in case we first agree to the reduction of armaments, or to the assumption of the mandate.

It is sometimes asked, if the authority of the organs of the League is so insignificant, where is its efficiency in preventing war? The answer is that it lies in the obligations assumed under the Covenant directly by the several members of the League; and this is both the most effective and least adventurous method of preventing war. There are in fact two possible forms of League for this purpose.

And, mind you, let me say here, that I am not in the least concerned with, and take no interest in, the question whose plan this is. I do not care a rush whether this plan was drawn up by a citizen of the United States or of England or of France or of Spain or of Japan or of Italy, or anyone else. The question is, is it a good plan for us to adopt? I think that we merely befog the issue and raise passion by asking whose plan it was.

In the plan projected in the Covenant, the obligations of the members are precisely defined, and their treaty rights and duties arise automatically on the outbreak of war—any other action recommended after consultation being voluntary.



The other form of League to prevent war would be one where the members should agree to comply with the directions of some international body, and in that case the obligation of the members to act would not arise until after a deliberation and vote of that body.

This second form of League has two serious disadvantages. The sanction of the provision against waging war, that is, the penalty for violation of the provision, is neither immediate nor certain, but depends upon the somewhat doubtful process of discussion, where a single negative voice of a powerful nation may practically prevent action. The deterrent for the intending offender is, therefore, weaker than in the other form of League. The second disadvantage is the uncertainty in the obligations assumed by the members of the League, which depend upon the determinations of the international body. A council with such a power might without gross exaggeration be termed in some sense a super-sovereign, or rather a super-national, council; but that is not the form of League proposed by the Covenant of Paris, and criticism of this Covenant based upon a radically different kind of League from that which it projects misses the mark altogether.

#### AN OBJECTION FOUNDED ON MISUNDERSTANDING

This misunderstanding of the nature of the League proposed, and of the functions of its organs, is the foundation of most of the objections raised against the Covenant. If the United States is not subject to the orders of the Executive Council, or under any obligation to adopt its recommendations, it is senseless to talk of our being ruled by a body in which we have only one vote out of nine. The opponents of the League set up an imaginary scarecrow of their own creation, and then fire at it with great satisfaction to themselves. Their shots do not touch the real mark, although the noise may confuse the public.

Another bogey of an equally unsubstantial kind is that "England" has in the Body of Delegates six votes to our one. If the

only functions of this body are to talk, to select the four other states to be represented on the Executive Council, and to make unanimous recommendations after inquiry into a dispute, the number of votes therein is not of much consequence. Moreover, even if the British self-governing colonies are admitted as members of the League, it is by no means certain that Great Britain can always control their votes; and on the other hand—tell it not in Gath—who but the United States would practically control to-day the votes of Panama, of Nicaragua, of Haiti and of San Domingo?

#### TRUE MEANING OF THE ARGUMENT FROM WASHINGTON'S POLICY

Let us now turn to the particular objections made to the entrance of the United States into this League, or indeed into any League to maintain the peace of the world. First or last the opponents of the Covenant always seek for an argument in Washington's Farewell Address. Curiously enough, I have never heard Washington's opinions, or practice, which must be well known, quoted against prohibition or some other modern innovations. It is even more strange to hear Senator Borah urge the authority of Washington against a League of Nations, but say that if the Saviour of mankind should revisit the earth and declare for such a League he would nevertheless oppose it. To the ordinary man, that Senator's ideas of authority in matters of opinion are perplexing. No sensible man would for a moment assert that if, owing to a change of conditions in the modern world, he were convinced of the utility and wisdom of a departure from the policy of Washington and the great statesmen of his day, he ought nevertheless to vote against that departure because of opinions expressed a century ago.

Senator Lodge has told us that we ought to be very cautious in abandoning a policy laid down by Washington and followed for a hundred years, and he is right, perfectly right. It does not mean that we are to be chained down to immobility by the traditions of the past regardless of changes in conditions.

That would be wholly contrary to the American spirit, and to the character of Washington himself, who was one of the greatest innovators in history, for the reason that he fixed his vision, not upon the past, but on the facts of his day and the problems of the future. Senator Lodge's caution means only this, that the burden of proof always rests upon those who advocate something new. We accept that burden of proof, and seek to show, what I believe the great mass of our countrymen feel: that the time has come when the nations should co-operate to put an end to war so far as possible; that from this humane effort the United States should not stand aloof; and that the principles embodied in the Covenant of Paris, with such amendments as can no doubt be obtained, provide the best means available for the creation of such a League. This is what we are striving to prove, and I believe that we shall prove it to the satisfaction of the American people.

Manifold things have changed since the days of Washington, and they could not help changing. And if Washington could look at things now I suppose he would do as he did then; that is, he would look them in the face and judge according to the present and the future, and not according to the past. Did not Washington depart from the whole history of our people up to that time? Up to that time our people had been ruled by England and the English king, and George Washington departed from all the old customs which had existed previously—much against the objection of many of his neighbors. And you know very well that all the land on Beacon Hill, and various other places, was confiscated because it belonged to those who did not agree with George Washington and went back under the good old customs to England.

And did not George Washington preside in the Convention that framed the Constitution? That was the greatest innovation of the time! And people argued against that in almost the same language that to-day they argue against this.

## TWO QUESTIONS TO SENATOR LODGE

As our senior Senator, and as the leader of the Republicans in the Senate, we have a right to ask Mr. Lodge two questions: *first*, whether he will, or will not, vote for the Covenant of Paris, provided it is amended as he wishes; and, *second*, what amendments thereto he desires.

Now, by the arrangement between Senator Lodge and myself, which I myself proposed, and of which I make no complaint, I have no reply here, and therefore I beg you all to notice whether he does answer those questions. The first of them can be answered Yes or No, and can be answered only Yes or No. I believe that if Senator Lodge in his position will formulate his amendments and send them to Paris, and say, "I will vote for this Covenant if those amendments are adopted," they will be adopted and the Covenant will pass.

## RIGHT TO WITHDRAW

A further objection to the Covenant is that it contains no provision for withdrawal from the League. If this is a serious cause of reluctance to its ratification there would probably be no great hesitation in adding a clause that any member might withdraw on giving a reasonable notice—let us say a couple of years—provided all its obligations were fulfilled up to the time it withdrew.

## INTENTION TO EXCLUDE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Another objection brought forward by the opponents of the League is that Asiatic immigration, the policy of a protective tariff, or some other matter of vital domestic interest, may form a subject of dispute with another nation, may be brought before the Executive Council for inquiry and decided against us. It would seem to be clear that the framers of the Covenant did not intend to submit to the interference of the Council the internal affairs of the members of the League, and assumed that the Council would in such questions follow the recognized principles of international law.

It can hardly be supposed that England, for example, intended that any nation should be entitled, by raising a dispute, to ask the Council to inquire into the government of the natives of India, and make recommendations for a change; or that France intended to authorize an inquiry whether or not she was justified in repealing the Concordat with the Church; or that Italy contemplated a recommendation on the restoration of the Temporal Power of the Vatican.

If it were not self-evident that purely internal affairs were intended to be left in the hands of each country as heretofore, the exceptional treatment of a couple of such subjects would prove it. Special provisions are made for reducing armaments and improving the condition of labor—matters that would otherwise be regarded in international law as domestic concerns. It is true that there is no express statement in the Covenant that internal affairs are not subject to interference by the Council, and there is no attempt to define what matters are of this nature, but it is perfectly clear that immigration and tariffs are internal affairs, and if there is any serious doubt on the question, there will doubtless be no objection to making it perfectly clear.

#### THE MONROE DOCTRINE—ITS DIFFERENT MEANINGS

Next we come to the greatest bugbear of all, the point on which popular alarm is most readily awakened by vague denunciation without definite explanation. It is the Monroe Doctrine. As one of those who have always believed strongly in this Doctrine, I understand that it means, or is by some persons supposed to mean, several different things. In its original sense it meant that no foreign nation should interfere with the independence, or seek by force to acquire any part of the territory, of any country in the American hemisphere. Taken in this sense the Covenant extends the doctrine over the whole world, or at least over all that part of it which is covered by the League.

Senator Lodge says that such an extension destroys the Monroe Doctrine. I do not quite see that. I do not see how the provision that you shall not do a thing anywhere upsets a

provision that you shall not do it in a particular place. He says that it is pulling down the fence, and that you do not preserve a fence by pulling it down. That is perfectly true if your object is to preserve the fence, but if your object is to preserve the fruits inside the fence you do not fail to preserve them by making the fence cover two orchards instead of one. And my interest in the Monroe Doctrine is not in the fence, but in the things the fence protects,—to wit, the people of these United States and the other countries of America.

#### AN AMENDMENT NEEDED

There is another later and broader sense in which the doctrine means that no foreign nation shall acquire a foothold on these continents even with the consent of the country that owns the place. This was the phase of the doctrine invoked in the case of Magdalena Bay. A Japanese company proposed to buy from Mexico a tract of land on this bay in Southern California, ultimately, as we believed, for the purpose of a Japanese naval station. Our Government objected, and the purchase was not made. Such a transaction is not forbidden by the Covenant of Paris, and if we went to arbitration about it the decision might be that Mexico had a right to sell land to Japan or any other power if she wished to do so. The United States would be justified in asking, and in my opinion ought to ask, for a clause in the Covenant that no foreign power shall hereafter acquire by conquest, purchase, or in any other way, any possession on the American continents or the islands adjacent thereto. Nor do I believe that the European members of the League would object to such a clause, because they do not want another nation to acquire military posts or naval stations in the neighborhood of their own coasts, canals or coaling stations.

#### THE DOCTRINE SHOULD NOT CREATE A GAME PRESERVE

There is, however, a third interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, rarely asserted, often repudiated, but nevertheless widely entertained, which stands on a very different footing. It is that,

while foreign powers are forbidden to take territory from American countries, we are at liberty to treat them as our interests may dictate. According to that view Central and South America are a game preserve, from which poachers are excluded, but where the proprietor may hunt as he pleases. Naturally the proprietor is anxious not only to keep away the poachers, but to oppose game laws that would interfere with his own sport. With their professed principles about protecting the integrity and independence of small countries, the nations that have drawn up the Covenant of Paris can hardly consent to a claim of this kind. Nor ought we to demand it. A suspicion that this is the real meaning of the Monroe Doctrine is the spectre that has prevented the great South American states from accepting the doctrine. It has been the chief obstacle to mutual confidence, and cordial relations with them, and the sooner it is definitely rejected the better.

Some Americans, while professing a faith in the right of all peoples to independence and self-government, are really imperialist at heart. They believe in the right and manifest destiny of the United States to expand by overrunning its weaker neighbors. They appeal to a spirit of patriotism that sees no object, holds no ideals, and acknowledges no rights or duties, but the national welfare and aggrandizement. In the name of that principle Germany sinned and fell. The ideas of these American imperialists are less grandiose, but at bottom they differ little from hers. It would be a calamity if we should have helped to overcome Germany only to be conquered by her theories and her errors.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL OBJECTIONS

Finally, an objection is made to the Covenant on the ground that its provisions are contrary to the Constitution of the United States. It is argued that an obligation assumed by treaty to limit military or naval forces and armaments in this country is contrary to the provision of the Constitution which vests in Congress the power to raise and support armies; that the obligation not to go to war without previous arbitration, or perchance to go to war under certain contingencies, is contrary to the provision

vesting in Congress the power to declare war; that the same is true of the obligation to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of the other members of the League, because this may involve war; and that the obligation to prevent commercial intercourse with the people of an offending country is contrary to the provision which confers on Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations. It is contended that a treaty which regulates any of these things impairs the power of Congress to do so and is, therefore, unconstitutional.

#### EXISTING TREATIES DO ALL THESE THINGS

Now it so happens that all these things have been regulated by treaties already made, still in existence, and duly ratified by the Senate. Treaties regulating commerce in various ways have been common, and are too numerous to require citation. No doubt they have often been authorized by Congress, but so can this Covenant if it is deemed necessary. With that authorization, and sometimes without it, there has been no question of their constitutionality.

The limitation of armaments by treaty is very old. More than one hundred years ago, in 1817, an agreement was made with England to limit the naval forces of the two countries upon the Great Lakes. It was approved by the Senate, put into effect by proclamation of the President, has been in force ever since, and been faithfully observed to the great satisfaction of everyone concerned. It is fortunate no one discovered that it was unconstitutional, for in our country this means that it is beyond the power of those making it, and hence null and void. But if the treaty was void, England or the United States could at any moment have built a navy on the Lakes without breaking it, for there is no such thing as a breach of a void treaty. It makes no difference whether this was in form a treaty, for it was an international agreement approved by the Senate.

Treaties to guarantee the integrity and independence of another country are of a more recent date. Article 35 of the treaty of



1846 states that "the United States guarantee, positively and efficaciously, to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time in which this treaty exists; and in consequence the United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory."

In like manner the treaty of 1903 with Panama states in its first article: "The United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama." Still more recently the treaty with Haiti ratified by the Senate on February 28, 1916, provides in Article XIV that "the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian Independence." Each of these treaties implied going to war if necessary, and the last says so expressly.

Within the last few years the so-called Bryan treaties have been made which cover the remaining point, that of an agreement not to go to war before arbitration. The treaty with Great Britain, ratified by the Senate on September 25, 1914, is a good example of this series of agreements. In the first article it provides for the reference to an international commission of all disputes of every nature whatsoever the settlement of which is not already provided for and in fact achieved under existing agreements, and adds that the high contracting parties "agree not to declare war or begin hostilities during such investigation and before the report is submitted." During the years from 1914 to 1916 treaties of this kind, duly ratified by the Senate, were made with Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Great Britain, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden and Uruguay.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS ARE UNAFFECTED

It is a little late in the day for opponents of the Covenant of Paris to discover that its treaty obligations are unconstitutional, and hence that all the foregoing treaties are null and void. This

is particularly true of those Senators who voted for many of these treaties. The fact is that treaties touching any of these matters are not unconstitutional, because they do not affect the powers vested in Congress by the Constitution. They affect the good faith of the nation, and so long as they remain in force they are the law of the land. But Congress does not thereby lose its power. If it chooses to pass an act violating their provisions the act, though immoral and a breach of faith, is not illegal or void of effect.

#### SEPARATE LEAGUES FOR AMERICA AND EUROPE INSUFFICIENT

Some opponents of the Covenant suggest that the United States should be at the head of a League to preserve order and maintain peace in this hemisphere, and that a European League of Nations should take charge of troubles which arise elsewhere. But that is no solution of the problem of preventing war. It is merely putting things back into the condition that they were in before Germany began this terrific conflict. If we are willing to help remove from mankind the fearful scourge of war, we must play our part in removing it wherever it may exist.

Other opponents suggest that we should not formally join a League, but can take part in a future European war if needed, as we did this time. They say, let the nations over there fight among themselves, and when we are drawn in, we will fight too. In this war we got off very lightly, in comparison with the European belligerents. There are in America only a hundred thousand mothers who have lost their sons, and perhaps twice as many of our best young men wounded, many of them maimed and sufferers for life. There are desolate widows and orphans. Why not let it happen again, with perhaps ten times as many casualties? Oh, yes, why not? Is not this better than trying to prevent war? Besides, some country may be devastated, as Belgium and parts of France were, without our being drawn in; and then we may make money by the trade in munitions and food stuffs. Why not? Is not this better than preventing war?

### THE COVENANT IS IMPERFECT BUT IN PRINCIPLE RIGHT

This Covenant is not perfect, it is a draft published for criticism and will receive plenty of it, and through criticism some improvement also. But even when perfected, it will not be perfect. Nothing human is perfect; still more, it will not satisfy everybody. In the nature of things it is an attempt to harmonize the views of many nations and of many people within each nation. It is a compromise between these views, and compromise is the very life blood of all legislation, where the unsatisfactory, and the evil if you will, must be taken with the good, and for the sake of the greater good. The Covenant is imperfect and poorly drawn, but it is framed on the right lines. The substance of the plan, the principles on which it is founded are correct and should be improved and accepted.

No great advance, no great step forward, has ever been taken by men without hesitation and without opposition. The Constitution of the United States was wrung from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people; but the far-sighted, sanguine, bold statesmen of that day were right in trying a great experiment, and they tried it with success. The America of their descendants has not become timid. The old idealism, the old fire, the old aspiration for something greater and better in the world, the generosity that is willing that others should share the prosperity and peace that we enjoy, has not died out.

### THE DECISION WE MUST MAKE

The war has taught us some things which we hardly understood before. One is the cruelty, the suffering, the devastation, the horror of modern war, and the absolute necessity of stopping it if civilization is to be preserved. Another thing the war has taught us,—which we saw but dimly before,—is that we have become a great nation and an inseparable part of the world.

With the closer contact with Europe which the progress of science has brought about through the more rapid transporta-

tion of news, of things and of men, the days of American isolation have passed away forever. The numbers and intelligence of our people and the resources of our land have made us potentially the most powerful people upon earth. We can not change it if we would, nor can we escape what it implies. We can not move the world or our country backward, and it is unwise when we can not help moving to look the other way. The destiny of America is forward, and we must look ahead.

War can, in large measure, be prevented, and certainly such wars as we have just shuddered at can be prevented; but this can be done only by a League, and a League powerful enough for the purpose is possible only if our country plays its part. The hour is rapidly approaching when we must decide whether our country shall take its place, like a great and generous nation, side by side with others as guardians of law, order and justice in the world, or whether it shall turn its face away from a world in agony. When I hear Senator Borah, who doubtless thinks himself a good judge of the political atmosphere, say that if the Saviour should revisit the earth and declare for a League of Nations, he would oppose it, I am reminded of a saying of that Saviour: "Ye can discern the face of the sky; can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

### THE PRESIDING OFFICER

Under the arrangement for the discussion Senator Lodge will have half an hour to close.

## SENATOR LODGE

### IN REBUTTAL

After President Lowell had finished revising and amending the treaty I think almost anyone could have agreed with it. I will try to be plain. I said that I was in favor of a union of nations in any league, alliance or society, or whatever name they choose to call it, that would tend to suppress, and, so far as possible, secure the world against, war.

When I said any league, I supposed it included this one. Perhaps it does not. If this League is to be in such form that it will really promote peace, instead of breeding dissension and quarrels—as I believe it will—if it shall be put in such shape that it will bring no injury or injustice to the United States, of course I will support it, because I said I would support any league which would do those things.

I am not engaged in dealing with titles or with imaginary leagues or leagues that are drawn by those who have no authority to draw them. I am engaged in dealing with the League that has been presented, whether complete or incomplete, to the people of the United States, and we were given to understand that it was that League as it stood.

I hope from my heart it will be amended. I hope we shall have a League in proper form, properly prepared, free from doubts, excluding what ought to be excluded. I hope it will be done—done somewhere before the end is reached. In my belief it will be done somewhere, and not in Paris.

### PRESIDENT DID NOT CONSULT SENATE

President Lowell asked me why I did not draw up amendments that I thought necessary and send them to Paris. I happen to be a Senator of the United States, but I can not speak with the au-

thority of the Senate. The Senate under the Constitution has the right to advise and consent. If the President of the United States had done what other Presidents have done—if he had laid this draft before the Senate he would have received the amendments asked of me by President Lowell. I am only asking something that has been done by almost all our Presidents who have consulted the Senate about entering into negotiations, about the character of negotiations, about awards, about pending negotiations. It was done among other Presidents, by Andrew Jackson, the old Indian fighter, victor of New Orleans, arbitrary and imperious; it was done by General Grant, the victor of the great Civil War, who rendered the greatest service to peace that any one President was ever privileged to do, when he carried through the Geneva Convention and saved a war with England. The Senate was consulted prior to negotiations by George Washington; it was consulted prior to negotiations by Abraham Lincoln. And in the path that George Washington and Abraham Lincoln have walked there is no man too great to tread.

#### IF PRESIDENT HAD CONSULTED SENATE

If the President had laid that draft before the Senate, as these other Presidents have done, if he had said to the Senate, "I submit this draft to you for your advice, I hope for your approval, and for such suggestions as you may have to make," he would have had the amendments laid before him to present to the Peace Conference in Paris. The battle would have been more than half won by the mere submission.

He not only did not lay it before us, before the constitutional body which is entitled to advise him, but he does not call the Senate together now to consider it. If they want to know in Paris what amendments are required, call together the constitutional advisers of the President and the amendments will be drafted and sent. But one senator cannot speak with authority for the entire body. The senators are now scattered in 48 states. Call them together and the amendments will be presented,

and if they are adopted the treaty will be ratified in very short order.

#### OUGHT TO MAKE PEACE WITH GERMANY

Now, one word on that particular point, which would have saved time. We ought to have made peace with Germany at once. All this fervor for peace, and we are at war now! We are at war at this moment, and nobody seems to think it worth while to stop the existing war. Two months have been wasted, at least two months, owing to the insistence on discussing the League of Peace. It will be two months more at least before the treaty can be here. We ought to have made the treaty of peace with Germany at once. We ought to make the treaty of peace with Germany now.

The argument has been made that unless the League of Nations was attached to the peace with Germany, it would not pass. What a confession of weakness! I believe that the great movement for the world's peace is strong enough to go alone. I believe that it will absolutely stand alone. But when it is saddled on a peace with Germany, interwoven with it, as we have been threatened, is it possible that that great experiment, so eloquently described by President Lowell, is so weak in the popular mind, so weak in Europe, that it must be smuggled in or carried through as a rider on the German treaty? I do not believe it.

Give us the treaty of peace with Germany. Let us chain and fetter, impose the reparations, build up the barrier states, put the monster where it can not spring again, and bring our soldiers home. They have been in Europe fighting the battles of the world—God bless them!—fighting for other nations, fighting for civilization and freedom. No furloughs are theirs. They can not run home in a night, to England or France or Belgium. They have to stay there, the men who have exposed themselves to the fire, who have made the greatest sacrifices, who have done the fighting. They can not come home on a furlough. Some must remain, no doubt, to carry out the terms of peace, but the great mass of

those men can be brought home. And if you tie up the League of Nations with a German peace you make more delays.

### BELIEVES IN LEAGUE OF PEACE

I believe sufficiently in a League of Peace to secure the future peace of the world. I believe sufficiently in it to think that it will be built up and passed, no matter when it is offered. But I know that it will take time and demand discussion.

You have listened to President Lowell's amendments, to his criticisms of the drafting of the treaty. Surely the Senate might be admitted to the same opportunity. The power to advise has been taken from the Senate. It is now proposed to take from it the power of consent by forcing through one treaty as part of another with which it is not concerned.

I am not speaking about senators. Senators, like Presidents, come and go, but the Senate remains an organic part of the Government. And let me say to you that when the powers, the constitutional functions of one of the great branches of the Government are atrophied, evaded, denied, you have got something to do at home to preserve the Constitution under which you have grown great.

I repeat again, I want a League of Nations that will advance the cause of peace on earth, that will make war as nearly impossible as it can be made. I want to bring about a general disarmament. I know arbitration can do much. I do not wish to put into any league articles which I believe impossible of fulfillment and which I believe nations will readily abrogate. But I am so firm a believer in the strength of the great peace movement that I am not ready to back it by the argument of fear. The United States has not come to where she is through fear. We have known

That in ourselves our safety must be sought;  
That by our own right hands it must be wrought;  
That we must stand unpropped or be laid low.

We are a great moral asset of Christian civilization. We are all that President Lowell has described as a necessity of the



League. How did we get there? By our own efforts. Nobody led us, nobody guided us, nobody controlled us.

#### AMERICAN PEOPLE ANXIOUS TO DO RIGHT

We have just been told that we are not fit to be intrusted with any care of the South American difficulties if such arise, and therefore we must intrust it to some other power. I object to that. I believe the people of the United States are just as humane, just as anxious to do right to others, as any nation in the world. We have cared for three of those states, as I have already stated—San Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua. In every instance war has been stopped and civilization and peace have progressed.

Of course we can guarantee them. I did not know anybody ever said we could not guarantee the boundaries of another state. We have done it here under the Monroe doctrine, and done it well. The Monroe doctrine was the necessary corollary of Washington's policy. I believe in it because I believe it protects and defends and guards the United States as it has for a hundred years. It does not interfere with Europe, it does not prevent our going to the aid of Europe, but it does preserve peace throughout this hemisphere. There is a longer record of peace here than you can find in some other places. And we are going to hand it over to a majority of other nations—a body where we have one vote. I do not say the time has not come to do it, but I do say, Think well about it. Consider it carefully.

May I venture a parable? A man is called on an errand of mercy. He springs to his feet and rushes out into the darkness. He does not know the way. He has no light. He falls into a trench, breaks his leg, and the errand of mercy remains unperformed.

Another man starts on the same errand of mercy. He knows the road. He knows where he is traveling. He carries a light. He performs the errand of mercy.

## UNDERSTAND ROAD TO BE TRAVELED

I wish to have the American people understand the road they are traveling. I want them to have light, plenty of light—broad daylight; not go through a dark tunnel of umbrageous words with nothing to see except at the end, the dim red light of internationalism.

Let us be careful where we tread. You are asked to exchange the government of Abraham Lincoln, "of the people, for the people, by the people," for a government of, for and by other people. Be sure that the exchange is for the better and not for the worse. When we abandon, if we must abandon—and if the American people think we must abandon we shall abandon the teachings of Washington and Lincoln, let us be sure, as we enter on the road of internationalism, that we do not go too far toward the sinister figures at the other end, of Trotzky and Lenine.

Let us do all in the world we can to secure the peace of the world, but let us in this most momentous time move slowly and take due consideration of our steps. I admit, I confess frankly, that perhaps I speak with some prejudice, but there is one thing of which I have said nothing, of which I must say one single word before I close.

## CAN NOT FORGET AMERICA

I can not forget America. I want my country to go forth; I want her to be a help to humanity, as she has been. I have nothing but the kindest feelings for every race on the face of the earth. I hope peace will reign throughout the world. I wish my country to do everything she can to bring about that blessed consummation. She has never proved wanting yet. She threw her sword into the wavering scales and turned the balance in favor of freedom and civilization against autocracy and barbarism.

I can not but keep her interests in my mind. I do not wish the Republic to take any detriment. I do not want dangers heaped upon us that would only cripple us in the good work we seek to do. I would keep America as she has been—not isolated,

not prevent her from joining other nations for these great purposes—but I wish her to be master of her fate. I am an American—born here, lived here, shall die here. I have never had but one flag, never loved but one flag. I am too old to try to love another, an international flag. I have never had but one allegiance, the allegiance of the United States. Personally, I am too old to divide it now. My first allegiance must stay where it has always been, to the people of the United States, my own people.

#### AMERICA STRONG, TRIUMPHANT AND FREE

I have no doubt that this great country, which has no alliances, which seeks no territory, which desires nothing so much as to keep the peace and save the world from all the horrors it has been enduring—I would have her left in a position to do that work and not submit her to a vote of other nations, with no resource except to break a treaty which she wishes to maintain.

We must not only strive to keep the world at peace, we must try to keep America as she is—I do not mean outside a League, but keep her as she is in her ideals and in her principles.

Therefore, study this question. Think of it. Think of it. Remember that the Senate at least will ultimately carry out the wishes of the American people. They must look at it themselves, they want the people to look at it, and when that is done I have no fear of the verdict.

The verdict of the people, while it will be in favor of doing everything that this mighty nation can for the preservation of the world's peace, will not allow the United States to be put into a position where she will be in any degree injured, weakened or crippled. I wish to see her stand as she always has stood, for the right, for mercy, for the help and benefit of all men, for the oppressed and those who struggle for freedom, all alike. Let her go on in her beneficent career, and I would have her stand as she has always stood, strong, alive, triumphant, free.

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# The League Bulletin

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## OPPOSITION DIVIDED

### Knox's Failure and Root's Proposal Emphasizes Split in Washington

The failure of the Knox resolution is encouraging; but don't get over-confident. The League to Enforce Peace still has a hard row to hoe before enough senators learn that the American people want a League and insist upon having it.

Senator Knox's proposal to separate the Covenant from the rest of the peace treaty has emphasized the division between the extreme and conservative opponents of the League plan. Ex-Senator Root's proposition differs radically from that of Senator Knox, but is no less dangerous to the success of the Covenant. It focusses attention upon Article X and proposes that this essential section be thrown overboard before we go any further into the consideration of the agreement.

Before this number of the BULLETIN reaches its readers the opponents of the Covenant may again shift their position, but the chances are that the Root platform will prove more durable than Senator Knox's position.

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## "EXTERNAL AGGRESSION"

### Qualification Generally Ignored by Critics of Article X

If the opponents of the Covenant center their fire on Article X the defense will not lack of ammunition. But because the majority of those attacking Article X show a strange ignorance of its language, let us see just what it really says:

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against **external aggression** the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Observe that the members of the League undertake to protect each other's boundaries against "external aggression" only. This qualification alone answers most of the arguments directed against the article. In one of the Covenanter Letters, President Taft says:

"It is objected to Article X that it is too rigid, that progress of the world may need rearrangement of boundaries, an enlargement of one country and a reduction of another or the creation of new states.

Article X does not forbid changes in boundaries or the enlargement or reduction of states or the establishment of new states. All that it forbids is the taking of territory by force from a member of the League, or overthrowing its government by violence. Article X does not protect any nation against internal disturbance, rebellion or revolution. It does not prevent the division of states by these means. The objection assumes that war by one existing nation upon another is necessary to the progress of the world to secure useful changes in boundary. We need not deny that a war of aggression may achieve a useful end, but the basis upon which the League rests is that such advantages are outweighed by the suffering in modern war and the possibility that a small war may lead to a general war and an enormous damage to civilization. The effort in the formulation of the present treaty is to make just boundaries and the effect of Article X will doubtless be to maintain those boundaries, in so far as to prevent foreign aggression from affecting them.

### Ireland Not Affected

"The suggestion that Article X was intended to bring to the aid of Great Britain the power of the United States to suppress a revolution in Ireland is of course wholly unfounded, because a revolution in Ireland would not be an attack upon the territorial integrity or political independence of Great Britain by external aggression.

"The insinuation against Article X that Great Britain secured it in order to get the aid of the United States and other members of the League to defend and protect 'her far-flung empire' is also without basis. No war in the last century has been begun against Great Britain to take away territory from her. Neither she nor the United States would feel called upon to invoke the defense of the League to protect their boundaries. They can defend themselves. No other state is likely to attack them, with the purpose of violating Article X. The reason for Article X is the protection of weaker nations against stronger ones. Great nations are seldom attacked except in case of a conspiracy like that of this present war, and when such a conspiracy exists, all of the members of the League will be anxious to join in its suppression. Article X is one of the great steps forward provided in the League for the securing of general peace."

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### DR. SHAW AT HOME

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who became ill during the recent Convention trip, and spent two weeks in a hospital in Springfield, Ill., has returned to her home in Moylan, Pa., where her condition is improving rapidly.

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### GOV. LISTER'S DEATH

In the death of Governor Lister of Washington, the League loses one of its strongest supporters. Gov. Lister was Honorary Chairman of the Washington State Branch. A year ago he traveled across the continent for the express purpose of attending the League's National Convention at Philadelphia.

## APPEALS THAT COUNT

### Senators Cannot Ignore Letters Signed by Prominent Citizens of Their Own State

The direct personal appeal to senators undoubtedly is the most effective method of working for the League at the present crisis. In persuasive power nothing equals a letter addressed to a senator by prominent residents of his own State. If the letter is signed by a political leader of the senator's own party, so much the better.

Striking proof of this is furnished by the letter which twenty-eight leading Republicans of New York State recently sent to Senators Calder and Wadsworth, urging that party hostility against the League be abandoned and that the Covenant be ratified without amendment. Among the signers of this letter were such well-known Republicans as George W. Wickersham, formerly U. S. Attorney General; Herbert Parsons, Republican National Committeeman; ex-Governor Charles S. Whitman; Charles D. Hilles, President of the New York Republican Club and formerly Chairman of the Republican National Committee; Oscar S. Straus, member of President Roosevelt's cabinet; and Theodore E. Burton, formerly U. S. Senator from Ohio.

In every State of the Union there are plenty of leading Republicans ready to sign just such a letter as this. The letter addressed to the New York senators resulted from a suggestion made by the leaders of the New York County Branch of the League to Enforce Peace. Other state and county branches of the organization can do the same service with equal results in states where senators are known to oppose the Covenant. Few senators are irrevocably committed against the ratification of the Covenant. The great majority are still in a position where they can retrace their steps if public opinion irresistibly demands ratification. This situation, however, will not continue indefinitely. State and County Branches which intend to send letters and petitions to senators should get into action.

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## ORGANIZED LABOR STANDS FIRM

The American Federation of Labor at its convention in Atlantic City declared for the League of Nations Covenant by an overwhelming majority. A resolution favoring the Covenant was adopted by a vote of 29,750 for and 420 against. President Gompers, who led the fight for the League, said that the document was not perfect, but that he would not play into the hands of the politicians by opposing it. If war was to be avoided, how could it be done except by agreement, he asked. What was there left to stand as a barrier against war if the proposed Covenant were defeated? He did not desire to support those who would inflame the world with the horrors of war whenever their nation felt itself strong enough. He pointed out that an airplane flew across the Atlantic in 16 hours, and said the United States and Europe were so close together that it was essential the best possible relationship should exist between the people of both continents. He was confident that the indorsement of labor would give the legislators at Washington an incentive to ratify it.

## A LEAGUE OF NATIONS WINDOW

### An Up-to-the-Minute Advertising Idea for Progressive Grocers

Pass this suggestion along to your grocer. It is a first-class advertising idea, and if he understands the value of good window dressing he will thank you. It originated with THE ADVERTISING WORLD.

Display in the show window an assortment of foods labelled with the name of the country they suggest. Only one article from each country should be shown at the same time. A streamer pasted at the top of the window may read: "Foods from the League of Nations."

For example:

**France**—Anchovies, citron, capers, prepared mustard, sardines, olive oil, Roquefort cheese and mushrooms.

**Great Britain**—Worcestershire sauce, finnan-haddock, mackerel and herrings.

**Switzerland**—Swiss cheese and Swiss chocolate.

**Central America**—Bananas, cocoanut and coffee.

**Holland**—Edam cheese, Bensdorp's cocoa and herrings.

**Italy**—Filberts, olives, lemon extract and imported pastes.

**China**—Tea and ginger.

**Japan**—Crab meat and tea.

**East Indies**—Sago and nutmegs.

**Canada**—Lobster.

**Norway**—Mackerel and sardines.

**Spain**—Olives and castile soap.

**Balkans**—Birdseed.

**Greece**—Currants.

**Ceylon**—Tea and cinnamon.

**India**—Curry powder.

**Cuba**—Sugar.

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## NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Four new members were elected at the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the League on June 13—Hon. John M. Whitehead, of Janesville, Wis.; Major Fred J. Miller, of Center Bridge, Pa.; Judge Martin T. Manton and Hon. William G. McAdoo, of New York. Mr. Whitehead, formerly Senator from Wisconsin, is Chairman of the Wisconsin Branch of the League. Major Miller has recently been elected Chairman of the National Office Committee. Judge Manton, of the United States District Court of Appeals, is well known to local members of the League; and Mr. McAdoo needs no introduction.

The resignations of Dr. William T. Manning, of New York, and Hon. Robert J. Gamble, of Sioux Falls, S. D., were accepted by the Committee.



# *The* ROUND TABLE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE  
POLITICS *of the* BRITISH  
COMMONWEALTH

ABSTRACT  
OF THE CONTENTS OF THE  
JUNE NUMBER

1919

## THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

**T**HE first article in the June number of **THE ROUND TABLE** insists that the Peace Treaty must be signed :

“ The Peace must now be signed and brought into effect with the least delay possible. It is idle, and worse, to suggest that the shattered system of Europe should be left upon the rack for another indefinite period while the framework of peace is recast. It is an urgent necessity for millions of human beings that reconstruction should begin at once, and though the framework of reconstruction here provided may be seriously incomplete, it provides a just and reasonable basis for the first stages of the work. . . . Further delay in making peace would not promote a really enduring solution of the problems to be faced ; on the contrary, it would aggravate the strain already shown by many tempers and exacerbate the very difficulties which it proposed to correct. It might indeed go far to impair the broad measure of agreement already attained at the risk of plunging Europe into a deeper welter of passion and revolt.

“ The Peace, then,” the article continues, “ must be brought into effect forthwith. But let there be no under-estimate of the problems which must still be faced before a stable European equilibrium can be reached. The fabric of peace as at present projected is good in warp, but it has no woof. The co-operation of all countries, vanquished no less than victors, will be needed to give the fabric permanence. There can be no enduring stability in a European system which leaves two large and populous countries without hope of restoration except through overthrow of the existing settlement. Without Germany and Russia the League of Nations will be dangerously incomplete. They must find some adequate prospect of reconstruction and development within the League or they will be its wreckers from without. To state this problem is

not, however, equivalent to indicating its solution, as many honest commentators upon the Treaty appear to think. Generosity to one's enemies at the expense of one's friends is not a course either of justice or of common sense. The difficulty of reconciling reparation and security for shattered France and Belgium with any consideration for the stability of Germany is immense. The present situation of Germany, with all her mines and factories intact, while those of France and Belgium have been wrecked beyond hope of restoration for a considerable period of years, demands the ruthless exaction of every forfeit and security which France and Belgium can obtain. This is an essential element of the Peace. And yet, if reconstruction is to be permanent, the payment of retribution is not enough. The whole society of nations has a common interest in the stability of Europe. In this respect the interest of France and Belgium is identical with that of Germany. No reconstruction can last unless it is based upon a stable Germany as well as a stable France. It must also depend very greatly, though not so urgently, upon the re-establishment of order in Russia and of normal relations between Russia and other peoples."

The article then examines the character of the Treaty and indicates the two strains which have combined in the framing of it—one a strain of idealism which is responsible for the insertion of the Covenant of the League of Nations: the other a strain of anger at Germany's crimes and of fear lest she should ever be in a position to repeat them.

"There are thus two latent dangers in the character of the Peace and in the present state of public opinion regarding it. On the one hand, the lower strain composing it has given us a series of provisions which create too artificial a balance of power to serve as a basis of permanent peace. There is always a danger lest the old Adam of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should pervert the vision and strangle the promise of the twentieth; and certain types of mind revert inveterately to the assumption, which the whole course of history disproves, that peoples can be kept up or kept down, irrespective of their real character and deserts, by diplomatic expedients and the crude use of force. On the other hand, and in violent contrast to the provisions just described, the Covenant pledges us to cast international relations in a new mould, and to exorcise the devils of covetousness and lust of power which plunged Europe into chaos four years ago. Democracy is thus encouraged to assume that the world henceforth will be settled in secure and restoring peace, and that armaments and military criterions will be nightmares of the past. Humanity is desperately prone to believe that it can ride two horses at once; and the allied democracies, having satiated their righteous desire for all that they can take of Germany's estate, may only too easily settle

down to the theory that the aspirations of the League of Nations are realised in fact.

“ But obviously this will not do. The Powers which at present constitute the League must be prepared to carry out all the implications of their new profession of faith, or they must realise that Europe is where it was in 1815 and 1871, and abandon the Covenant as a comfortable but delusive dream.

“ The next step necessary, when the Peace has come into effect, is therefore to prepare the way for the entry of Germany and (when stable government is re-established there) of Russia into the League. To do this the policy of the Great Powers must be such as to offer hope and scope to both these peoples proportionate to their number and capacity within the circle of the League. There is no other way to a lasting settlement.”

## FINANCE AND REPARATION

**T**HE second article is a candid and authoritative examination of the financial position in which Europe has been left by the war.

“ The view has always been held in some quarters that the end of the war would see a great and immediate development of industry and trade and very considerable prosperity, at any rate for a limited period. That is not our opinion. The resumption of normal conditions can only be gradual. Credit and confidence are now largely lacking, and their restoration to pre-war standards must necessarily in any circumstances be a matter of time, and dependent on the gradual readjustment of all the political, economic, financial and moral disharmonies caused by the war, and also on the reaccumulation of some at any rate of the vast amount of capital which has been destroyed. It is certain that whatever we do, European standards of living have for some time got to be lower than before the war. . . . We all of us are dependent on the prosperity of each other, and we must all go ahead hand in hand together. If our neighbours are poverty-stricken, we shall be poor.”

After analysing the financial difficulties of Belgium, France and Italy, the article continues :—

“ In the main German conditions are not dissimilar. It is true that during the war Germany has incurred no great foreign debt, but that deficiency will be supplied, and on a scale far greater than in the case of any other nation, by the Reparation terms of the Treaty of Peace. It is true, also, that her factories are intact. Nevertheless she is bare of raw materials, and her whole financial and economic structure is being strained to the breaking point. Her currency is in vast superfluity ; the mark is now worth only between 3d. and 4d. instead of 1s. ; prices are very high ; her workmen are demoralised and debilitated by the conditions of war and the

constant underfeeding of four years. It is impossible to see how internal bankruptcy can be avoided, and a general scaling down of debts. It is equally difficult to see what effect this would have on the stability of her great banking institutions. Germany can only get to work again if she can obtain large credits from abroad for the purchase of raw materials. Unless she gets to work she cannot possibly pay the indemnities demanded of her."

The East and South-East of Europe are in an even worse economic position than the West. Great Britain, though better off than any other European country, has to face a large adverse balance of trade.

"As against a Europe impoverished and in the deepest distress, stands the United States with greater wealth and greater resources than ever before in her history. It is impossible that these two continents, the one overflowing with materials of all kinds, the other destitute and famishing for want of them, can face each other without finding somehow or other some plan of mutual co-operation. Europe needs the assistance of the United States, but the United States also needs the assistance of Europe. Unless Europe is given credit it is impossible for her to buy the exports which the United States desires to sell. It is for the United States to devise whatever methods most recommend themselves for giving the necessary credit to Europe, just as, in past years, Europe has built up the United States by the same means."

The article then discusses the false hopes that have been entertained of the solution of economic difficulties by means of a vast indemnity from Germany.

"Germany has undertaken to pay reparation for the damages she has so criminally caused, and it is mere justice she should pay all that she has undertaken. Over a long period of years she may be able to do so. What she can pay per annum twenty years hence no man can say. What she can pay in the next five will be limited by the extent of her recovery, and in any case cannot be large enough very seriously to alleviate the great financial problems which within that period the nations of Western Europe must have solved. . . . Germany will not be the Germany of 1914. With Alsace Lorraine, Upper Silesia and the Saar Valley lost to her, with her mercantile marine and her foreign securities gone, with a disordered currency, a vastly depreciated exchange, financial burdens which she can hardly meet in full, with the population demoralised by four years of strain and underfeeding, with the most grave and pressing political problems to face, and with her markets gone, her producing power and her export capacity must be for the present gravely diminished. France and Italy do not expect to balance their external trade for two or three or four years. It is

out of any surplus on her foreign balance of trade that Germany can alone—apart from any immediately available assets—pay an indemnity. Why should Germany be able to do the miracle that France and Italy cannot do, and not only balance her trade, but have great surpluses in addition to pay over to her enemies? . . . Let us, if we are wise, moderate our expectations. If, as soon as peace is declared, Germany is given assistance and credit, she can pay us something, and should pay all she can. But what she can pay in the next five years must be, we repeat, limited.”

Finally the article examines the terms of the Note of November 5, which extended President Wilson’s definition of reparation so as to make Germany responsible not only for the restoration of invaded countries but also for compensation “for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air.” It is pointed out that all reparation claims must in honour be kept within these terms in accordance with which Germany laid down her arms.

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

**T**HIS article opens with a tribute to President Wilson, to whose “initiative and persistence” the inclusion of the Covenant of the League of Nations in the Treaty is largely due.

“It was not till the President had reached Europe that all his doctrines implied for America began to come home to him. But the text of the Covenant proves how firmly he trod the path traced by his own principles, when he saw where they went. The Covenant is, on the part of all the States that subscribe to it, a practical as well as a formal recognition of the principle that every community has a duty larger than that which it owes to itself. Sins of omission have wrought more suffering in the world than sins of commission, and the fact has only been missed because they are by nature less visible. . . . If liberty is freedom to do right, the nations who enjoy it must needs to look to the things they leave undone.”

The British and American Commonwealths (it is agreed) were guilty of a sin of omission in the days before the war in standing aloof from the rest of the world and thinking only of their own liberties :

“Of this self-regarding nationalism the League of Nations is the formal and public renunciation. In this document the accredited spokesmen of England and America solemnly recognise the liberties of other

than their own citizens as a trust which they cannot neglect or ignore. They are pledged to safeguard the frontiers of States weaker than themselves, to forbid weapons to those who would strike them down, and to provide forces strong enough, if need be, to wrest those weapons from their hands. And all this they pledge themselves to do not merely when blows are aimed, but by continuous watching together with all other States which in any sort enjoy freedom and have the freedom of the world at heart."

The article then turns to the Peace Conference and describes the method by which decisions were arrived at by the Great Powers, who were obliged, in order to obtain rapid results, to reduce the size of their Council from 25 to 10 and at last to 4.

"So far as possible the minor units have been called in to express their views on matters in which they were severally and distinctively concerned. But a Belgian or Greek is as much concerned in the general making of peace as a Frenchman or American. In fact the decisions have had to be made by the four Great Powers, and to reach decisions the crucial discussions had to be confined to the one spokesman finally responsible to the legislatures and electorates of these four communities."

As at the Conference, so in the League of Nations, it is essential that leading members of the Governments of the Great Powers should personally attend the Council.

"The future of the League will be mainly determined by whether the first representatives appointed to meet are the Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers—that is to say, men directly responsible to the peoples for whom they speak. If the representatives sent are not the principals, but merely men of ambassadorial rank, who can only act on instructions from Cabinets to which they do not belong, the fate of the League is sealed. In all matters of cardinal importance, those by which the world's peace is made or marred, it will become a mere registering machine. . . . If such matters are still to be settled between these governments by underground channels outside the Council, the League will add but one new pile to the debris of men's ideals which their leaders have lacked the honesty of purpose to realise.

"The world will do well, then, to rivet its eyes on that first meeting and those first appointments."

The article finally discusses the position of the Dominions in relation to the League of Nations :

"The results of that war have changed their whole life. It must have brought home to every thinking man in the Dominions the truth that no domestic question is quite so important as foreign affairs—

affairs the handling of which determines, long in advance, the issues of peace and war. Never again can Dominion electorates acquiesce in the position that their own country can be committed to war by the action or inaction of a government answerable only to the British electorate. They themselves, through their own governments, are now assuming the burden of foreign affairs in the largest and widest sense. The issue is definitely crystallised by Article X. of the Covenant to which the governments of each Dominion are to put their name. By this article each Dominion, as well as the United Kingdom, is to 'Undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the members of the League.' . . . The movement of hostile forces across any frontier in Europe will commit them to war. The whole State of Europe becomes their daily and hourly concern."

It is agreed that the representation of the Dominions in the League as *small nations* will not give them an effective voice in the decisions which will determine the avoidance or recurrence of future wars. These decisions (as the article has previously shown) will rest with the representatives of the Great Powers. For the moment the difficulty has been shelved by the recognition of the British Prime Minister as holding a mandate not only from the people of the United Kingdom, by whose votes he can be controlled, but also from the peoples of the Dominions, to whom he is not accountable.

"The Great Powers of the world have been told that in conference with them a representative amenable only to votes cast by British electors holds the mandates of five other electorates. . . . He can, to the best of his ability, listen to and voice public opinion in the Dominions as expressed through their Governments. But no British citizen in the Dominions can cast a vote which operates to dismiss him, and the spokesman whom voters cannot dismiss by their votes they do not control. The position cannot be long continued. The representative of the British Commonwealth in the Council of Nations must be made answerable to British citizens in the Dominions no less than, and in just the same manner as, to British citizens in the United Kingdom; or else, in the not distant future, the nations he does not in fact represent will disavow him. The peoples of these Dominions are approaching a fateful issue, in which they will decide for themselves whether, as British citizens of a world-wide Commonwealth, to assume obligations for ordering the peace of the world, for moulding the future of mankind, or whether, renouncing that status, as aliens to the Commonwealth, to content themselves with such place in the world's counsels as by the logic of facts minor states alone can find."

## THE MILITARY EFFORT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

**T**HIS article contains a series of statistical tables showing the number of troops enlisted and the casualties suffered by the United Kingdom and the Dominions. The casualties of the Allies of the British Empire are also given. The tables are based on official figures and are explained and commented on in the text of the article.

## RUSSIA'S REVOLT AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

**A**N authoritative account of the anti-Bolshevist groups in Russia, of their origin and history, of their constitutional position and of the declared political intentions of their leaders.

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

**A**N interesting record contributed from Chicago of the main political and economic developments in the United States during the last few months.

## INDIAN POLITICS

**T**HIS article gives a valuable summary of the conditions and events in India which preceded the recent outbreak. The Rowlatt Report and the "Rowlatt Bills" are discussed, and the course of the outbreak is described.

The rest of the June number of **THE ROUND TABLE** is devoted to the usual contributions from the nations of the British Commonwealth, describing the course of political events in each.

United Kingdom :

*The Industrial Unrest—The Financial Position—Public Opinion in Ireland.*

Canada :

*The Death of Laurier—The Liberal Leadership—The Position of Quebec—From War to Peace.*

Australia :

*The Peace Conference—The One Big Union.*

South Africa :

*The Nationalists and the Peace Conference.*

New Zealand :

*The Labour Situation—New Zealand's War Effort—New Zealand and the Peace Conference—Repatriation Problems.*



# AMERICA CAN'T QUIT

*By*

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

*Ex-President of the United States*

An Address on the League of Nations Delivered  
at the Joint Meeting of the Minnesota and  
Wisconsin State Bar Association,  
La Crosse, Wisc., July 2, 1919

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WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

**T**HERE is a great deal of misconception as to what brought about this League of Nations. It has been said to be a fad of Mr. Wilson's; it has been said that he surrendered things in the treaty in order to carry out his fad. That is great error. Mr. Wilson has not always been in favor of the League; neither has Mr. Lloyd George; neither has M. Clemenceau.

The truth is that this League was incorporated in the treaty because the plain people of Great Britain and of France and of Italy demanded a league of nations as machinery by which this might be made, as nearly as possible, the last war. That feeling grew as the morale weakened in those countries, and the morale was stiffened by those among the plain people who urged that the introduction of a League of Nations would make war in the future improbable, and that they ought to make the effort to win the war because by so doing, and through a league of nations, they could accomplish a purpose justifying the enormous sacrifices that the continuance of the war would involve. This is why the first resolution passed by the conference was that "Not only must there be a league of nations, but it must be the first thing considered, it must be an indispensable part of the treaty." All this came because of the knowledge of M. Clemenceau, Signor Orlando and Mr. Lloyd George that the plain people of those countries demanded such machinery. If it is adopted it will furnish one more instance of the common sense of the plain people that justifies a step forward which statesmen and halting philosophers are afraid to undertake.

## Women, Working People, Churches

The women in the country are in favor of the League. The working men are in favor of the League. The churches are in favor of the League. Why? Because they fully understand its provisions? No, but because they believe that it is a sincere effort to unite the forces

of all the nations of the world to prevent war as far as possible, and they are willing to undertake the experiment.

The League is a part of a treaty. Its constitutional validity, so far as we are especially concerned, depends on the question, What is the scope of the treaty-making power?

Now whether the League be constitutional, or not, depends upon the construction that should be put upon it. The objectors to the League, many of them, say that it creates a super-sovereignty, an over-government, a managing directorate to which are delegated powers that can only be exercised under our constitution by Congress. There might be such a league; there might be a league such as France desired to have in which there should be a managing directorate with a chief of police, so to speak, under that directorate, with a million men in the police force, so that Chief of Police Foch, hearing of a disturbance in one part of the globe, could send word by cable to his superintendent there, "Take twenty thousand men, go over and suppress that disturbance, and put out the fire."

France was anxious to have it, because France wanted an arrangement by which Foch could order to the German frontier at once, on any threat of German attack upon France, half a million men, and her delegates argued strenuously before the Conference in favor of such an arrangement.

But the other nations declined, and our representatives declined, because they said, "Not only do we object on the ground of expediency to parting with sovereignty such as that would be, but we have not the power under our constitution."

### A Partnership Agreement

The league which I have described is not the League that is now presented for our consideration and adoption. What is it? It is only a partnership agreement. It is an agreement in which the partners agree to coöperate. It is written in the covenant what they shall do under the obligations so described. The circumstances under which those obligations arose are stated in the covenant; and it is for each member of the League necessarily to construe its own obligation, to determine how that obligation shall be performed, and then to perform it, itself, and not through any agency except its constitutional and normal agency to do the thing which it has agreed to do. I think if you will study the League, you will find that that is the condition. It

is said that the council is the managing body, that it is the super-sovereign. There is no function to be performed by the council that is not advisory. The expression "to deal with" occurs once or twice, but you will find that expression refers rather to the scope of the subject matter to be considered in the meeting, of which all members must take notice so as to be there, and that the description of the functions of the council itself is contained in the words "recommend," "advise," and "propose."

Upon those words and the construction of those words must depend what the function of the council is. Those who object on the ground that that is super-sovereignty maintain that "recommend" means "command," that "advise" means "direct" and that "propose" means to "order." I submit on the face of it that that is a strained construction of the words, and that nothing but a most unusual context in each case would justify such a misinterpretation of the words according to their ordinary meaning. And when you consider that this League is a league not under a supreme court which has the power over every member to compel it to render its affirmative duty, but that this must depend on the spirit of coöperation, and that each nation must determine for itself its meaning, its construction by us will certainly be reasonable.

Why, these gentlemen discuss this as if they were going before a hostile supreme court and they seek for strained constructions to impose them on the United States. No secretary of state would accept for a minute the view, when it would be presented to him, that the word "recommend" means "command," when a council would recommend a course of action. He would reject such a view without the slightest hesitation.

"Recommend" means a suggestion to be accepted or rejected. "Advice" means something to be accepted or rejected. And when you take away that foundation, the whole structure of the argument as to super-sovereignty fails and fails utterly.

The council consist of nine members, selected, five of them by the great powers: Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States; and four of them by countries to be selected by the assembly. The assembly is a convention of the League, with delegates, one, two or three, from each country; but whether one, two or three, with only one vote. The assembly has three functions; one is to elect non-members by a two-thirds vote to membership; the second is to act in place of the council in conciliation, and recommending a settlement or com-

promise; the third is to advise the nations whether their treaties are in accord with the obligations of the League, or not. Those are the three principal functions of the assembly.

### Fantastic Objections

Now, I wish to call your attention to that organization in order to take up some of the more fantastic objections to the League, the character of which is such as to indicate a poverty of objection. I do not mean to say there are not sincere arguments against the league—sincerely made—but I do mean to say that the character of a number of objections is such as to indicate an absence of material.

For instance, the first is that we could be called in to help Great Britain suppress an Irish rebellion. Why? Under Article X it is provided that all members shall preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of the members of the League. That means aggression by foreign countries. Therefore, the suppression of a rebellion does not come within Article X, nor within any other article of the League. If a country has a revolution, it can attend to it, itself. If the party which institutes the revolution succeeds, it will be recognized, as other nations who were created thus (who have succeeded) have been recognized by other countries, and then they will be admitted into the League. That objection is made not out of careful and kind consideration for the Irish, but with a view to arousing their votes against the League.

Such a motive leads to the perversion of much logic.

The second objection is one that was discovered and shown by somebody "from Missouri" that there are more brown, black and yellow people in the world than there are whites; and that, as this is a convention of all the nations, a league of all nations, there will be more variegated colored constituents than there are whites; and that in some way or another, which he does not explain, we are going to have Negro domination; that the Negroes of South Africa will unite with the Negroes of Panama, and then the Yellows, the four hundred million of China, and the three hundred million of India, will all unite, and then we are going to be made brown, black or yellow, or come under that domination. It is not explained how. It is not suggested how that conspiracy is to be formed, or, when formed, how it is to work out under the provisions of the League.

I have told you what the assembly can do. It can elect new mem-

bers. It can recommend a settlement, and it can advise as to the inconsistency between treaties and the obligations of the League. Now, how, under that machinery, are those colored gentlemen going to obtain the tyranny that the gentlemen from Missouri has shown? What is the object of such a speech? It is to stir up the Southern constituencies who are sensitive on the subject of Negro domination, and have them write their senators who have indicated a purpose to support the League, so they may be induced to vote against it.

### **“A Catholic Conspiracy”!**

Then the third objection is the dreadful disclosure that the League is a Catholic conspiracy for the purpose of giving the Pope temporal power over us all. This diligent gentleman in hunting objections has counted the nations and found that there are more Catholic nations than Protestant, and they were going to give the Pope world power. Just how it is to be worked out, he does not explain.—The Pope is not a member of the League, cannot be elected a member of the League. And even if he could be it is a little difficult to see how he could gain any temporal power thereby. The recommendations of settlement of disputes under the League have to be made by the unanimous judgment of the council, and, if you appeal to the assembly, both by the unanimous judgment of the countries whose representatives constitute the council, and a majority of the other members of the League. Suppose the Pope were in a dispute seeking temporal power. Consider the Council on this issue. There is the United States. How much danger is there that the United States will insist on the temporal power of the Pope?

Then take France. France has been at odds with the Church for twenty-five years, and does not admit the Church in any way into its government.

Then take England. England's king loses his throne if he becomes Roman Catholic.

Then take Japan. She is Shintoist and Buddhist. She is very likely to vote for the temporal power of the Pope!

And Italy. Italy has been for half a century—ever since it was a united nation—keeping the Pope out of temporal power.

There you have the unanimous vote of the Council against such moonshine—for that is all it amounts to.

## Treaty-Making Power

What is the treaty-making power? It seems to me that there is a great misconception of its scope. There are many who argue that the treaty-making power may not extend to promises of what Congress is to do. That is the argument. Now, the treaty-making power is not a performing power. It is a promising power. When the government promises to another nation by contract, it is the treaty-making power that acts for the government and is the government. The promises to be performed are generally promises that can be performed only by Congress. Now, is it possible that the treaty-making power may not make a contract for the government to do a thing which it is for Congress to do under the Constitution? If that be true, then we cannot make treaties at all. There is no use having the treaty-making power, if that is true. Then the United States cannot promise, as it has promised time after time, to pay money, because Congress has to appropriate it when the payment is due.

That question was raised with respect to the Jay Treaty. After the Jay Treaty had been made, Congress demanded the letters between Washington and Jay as to the Treaty in order that it might investigate the Jay Treaty. Washington said No, the treaty-making power has bound you to make certain payments; that is your obligation; you are not part of the treaty-making power; therefore, you are not entitled to go to the foundations of that treaty. And Congress passed a resolution, called the "Blunt Resolution," in which it "resolved" that it was entitled to consider the Treaty—but she paid the money without getting the letters.

Now, I appeal to you, because this is a fundamental distinction, that the treaty-making power is the promising power so far as other nations are concerned. Congress may join that promise, but it does not add any constitutional validity or strength to the promise because one congress cannot bind another congress to a policy unless it has the promising power. Under the Constitution, the President and the Senate,—two-thirds—have the promising power. Now that means the promising power for this government, and that means that when this government is bound by that promise, then it must be performed by Congress.

Ah but, you say, that limits the constitutional discretion of Congress. It does in this sense, that Congress is under a moral and legal obligation to do the thing that honor and legal obligation require, but Congress represents the government and has the sovereignty of the



government placed in it, and one of the evidences of that sovereignty is the power to do the wrong thing, is the power to dishonor its obligation legally made. That choice of right or wrong is what constitutes freedom and sovereignty, but it does not render invalid the original obligation entered into as the constitution directs, by the power given in the Constitution to promise and contract for the government with foreign nations.

### **No Power to Compel Congress**

Therefore, what we do here is to enter into this covenant and promise and contract that under certain conditions, we will do certain things; and Congress is in honor and legally bound to do them but there is no power to compel Congress to do anything; it may do what it chooses, and it may dishonor that obligation, but that does not render the original promise or treaty that we propose to make invalid, any more than when a man lets his note go to protest, he can plead that the note was invalid because he could let it go to protest. And when you get that fundamental conception, then you see how erroneous is the view that a treaty like this is invalid because honor and law—international law limits the power of Congress to do what it may do, although it cannot be prevented from doing as it chooses within its constitutional discretion. Unless you follow that course of reasoning, there was no need of making a treaty-making power, because the treaty-making power could not contract for anything, as Congress is with few exceptions the only performing power under the Constitution.

### **Reduction of Armaments**

What is the object of this League and what does it propose to do? The object is to avoid war as far as possible. It is to make peace as permanent as it can be made. How does it do it? Why, it does it by four great steps. The first is Article VIII. Article VIII is the armament article. It declares it to be in the interest of peace that there should be a reduction of all the armaments of the world as far as possible, consistent with national safety and the obligations of the League. It directs the Council to prepare a plan for that reduction and the Council is to take a military commission to assist it. The Council then takes up the matter of receiving information which the nations covenant to give as to all existing armaments. Then the council makes the plan, reduces the armament and fixes the limit for each country.

That plan, when completed, is submitted to all the governments. Each government studies it with a view to its own limitations, and its own limitations with respect to the limitations of other countries. It argues out the question, and negotiates, and finally a voluntary agreement is reached. When that voluntary agreement is reached with a limitation for each nation proportionate to its needs, then the countries covenant to keep within that limit for not more than ten years, there being a revision before the end of ten years. Now, if during that time any contingency requires the increase of the limit of any nation, the Council has authority to increase it. That is a means of meeting emergencies. On the other hand, there is a check against disproportionate increase, for that Council acts unanimously; and as we have a member on that Council, no limit can be increased except by our consent.

What is the objection to this? It is said that this will paralyze our arm of defense, subject our homes and firesides and free institutions to destruction, and lay us naked to our enemies. That is eloquent, but there is not a scintilla of fact to sustain it, not a scintilla.

We agree to limit our armament in consideration of every other country limiting its armament. Is not that fair? Instead of meeting the danger there may be from other nations by increasing our armament, we meet it by keeping down the armament of the others under agreement. If two men meet and you take away both revolvers and they go at each other with fists and punch eyes and noses and solar plexuses—isn't that fair? And it has the advantage of there being no mortality.

That is what this plan is. It is a reduction of the armament, so that the armament shall be defensive and not offensive, so it shall contain no temptation to war. Therefore, while we may be said to lay ourselves naked to our enemies, they lay themselves naked to us. In other words, the convention is only an ordinary agreement as to style or latitude in dress—war dress. That is all it is. But this is most important. This whole war in its character of human disaster has come from race for armament. It began away back with Bismarck in the development of Prussia into the German Empire, when he said he would do it by blood and iron. He fought the Danish war and increased his army. He fought the Austrian war and strengthened his army. He fought the French war and then he united the German states into one government under the Empire.

## One Cause of the War

The Kaiser had the dream of universal dominion, and to assist him in that he took this wonderful military establishment and enlarged it and that enlargement went on from year to year, conscription of two years for all the youth of the Empire, with a reserve of these trained soldiers after that service by for six or seven years in addition. Strategic railways, great manufacture of ammunition, artillery, small arms, explosives, everything that science could suggest, or experience dictate with reference to making that military establishment the strongest in the world. The Germans stimulated action in their allies, Austria and Italy; conscription went on in both those countries. France and Russia were aroused for fear of aggression, and so they went on year after year and decade after decade until in 1914 these armaments had reached an enormous figure, far beyond anything ever contemplated.

That brought about the war. Its evil effects were four-fold. It loaded the poor people of Europe with overwhelming taxation. It took out of the life of all the youth two or three years of their producing capacity. It gave a truculence, a chip-on-the-shoulder disposition and temptation to war, a bullying tendency to the Kaiser, who felt the strength of this military establishment so that when he went into conference with other nations and came out winner, he told his people that he won by standing forth in shining armour, by rattling his sword in its scabbard. And when 1914 came, he had won in the race. Russia had not completed her strategic railways, France had not completed her plan of artillery or conscription. And he said, "Now is the time to strike. Our enemies are in condition where we can strike them and win." And when the Serbian difficulty came on he told the Emperor, Francis Joseph, "I will go north on a vacation, apparently, and then you put in the ultimatum and when I hear of it I will be surprised and I will hurry back," and he did. "But," he said, "No conference with other nations." And there was none. And war was on.

## Savagery of War

It brought on the war, this race for armament. And the worst feature of that enormous armament was the character of the campaign that it brought about. Never in history have we had, since the days of Attila, the Hun, such savagery; instruments of destruction were directed not against armies only, but against old men, against women and against children. Explosives, dropped from the clouds, made no discrimination between combatants and non-combatants. Explosives

from the bottom of the sea destroyed innocent people on the sea who had a right to be there, men, women and children—non-combatants. All grew out of the great enormous armament. And then the devastation of the countries—for it was a devastation of peoples and of countries. The northern part of France, its great manufacturing centers, were absolutely destroyed and the mines have been so injured that it will take fifteen years' compensation by the use of other mines to enable France to pull herself together again. Machinery was stolen from Belgium in order to interfere with her industrial future, so that when these nations were conquered, not only would their armies be conquered but their commercial supremacy would be injured and their power of competition would be forever destroyed. The destruction of trees and houses in the country has no parallel. That is all due to the enormous scope of the armament and the opportunity for destruction that that armament gave.

Is there a man or woman with soul so dead to the welfare of mankind, of his own people and of the nations of the world, that does not long for some means of preventing a recurrence of that awful race for armament which is the inevitable alternative unless we adopt some means of stopping it?

You can't help it. Among the Allies, if you have no League, if there is no obligation of this kind, each nation will naturally, and ought to, turn to the question of its preservation by insurance of its safety—and that means armament. And when each nation arms, each other nation watches it, because that nation may be its enemy in the future. It can take no chances. Therefore the race begins at once—innocently, but in the end it goes on from year to year. This race that we have had went on for four decades and the dreary round of cause and effect will go on, it will go on more quickly than before, because if we are to have no League the nations will begin at once and then we will see the race has begun with its inevitable consequences.

### The Example of Germany

This has long been seen. Why, even the poor Emperor of Russia saw what the result was likely to be. A number of years ago—he called the Hague Conference for the purpose of arranging machinery to prevent future wars, and the first heading that he made was "The limit of armament." Why wasn't it put through? Because Germany strode into that conference with mailed fist and said, "If you discuss the limit of armament, I withdraw from the Conference." Now these gentlemen who object to this Article VIII would have us play the part

in this Conference that Germany played in that. Do you like the example? Do you like the leadership? Isn't it absurd for us to object to limitation of armament under these conditions when the nations on the other side are willing to have a limit of armament? They are near the possible center of disturbance, yet they are willing sincerely and honestly to enter into such an arrangement; we have the Atlantic ocean between us and them, and yet we are not going to "lay ourselves naked to our enemies" by any such limit. And it is a bit humorous for us to get excited about this. We have lived as a nation for one hundred twenty-five years, and never in the history of that nation, except in time of war have we had adequate armament even to do the police duty of the nation. Between the Civil war and the Spanish war we had our regular army, for one hundred million people, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, a domain reaching from Canada to the Gulf, an army limited to twenty-five thousand men—less than a single division that we sent over to this war. Do you think that was "laying ourselves naked to our enemies?" Then it was increased to one hundred thousand—that is, it was given to the President to increase the number of the army within one hundred thousand, but we never could get it to one hundred thousand because Congress would not appropriate the money for the purpose. I have been President of the United States, and I have been Secretary of War, and I know what I am talking about. I think we have been inadequate in our armaments.

But how does it work? Why, you get a Congress that has some vision, and it tries to make some preparation, and it votes some appropriation that increases taxation, and the members who voted go home and find perspiring patriots who are willing to take the place of those gentlemen who voted for that preparation, by agreeing not to vote for future appropriations. And very often the gentlemen who voted for the appropriation are left at home to contemplate the grandeur of their action.

Therefore, what I venture to say is that when this limit is fixed in a League of Nations—and it will be liberal because the nations on the other side are not afraid of us, they are quite willing to have us have enough to comply with the obligations of the League—and although I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, I venture to say that when that limit is fixed, except in time of war Congress won't come within gunshot of the limit.

## Constitutionality

Then it is said to be unconstitutional. Why? I don't know. One of the embarrassments in court when you say a thing is unconstitutional is that you have to point out the verse and line of the Constitution that is violated; but you don't have to do that either on the stump or in the Senate.

Now is it within the treaty-making power to limit armament? Well, what is the scope of the treaty-making power? The Supreme Court of the United States is fairly good authority on that subject, and it has held that the treaty-making power is one of very wide scope. It may even suspend state statutes and thus transcend stations between congressional action and that of state legislatures. It may cover, as Mr. Justice Field said in *Geoffroy vs. Riggs*, it may cover the usual subject matter of treaties between nations except that it may not change the form of government, it may not agree to do things forbidden by the Constitution and it may not cede land belonging to a state without the consent of the state.

The limitation of armament is one of the most frequent subject matters of peace treaties. Indeed, this very peace treaty, that does not seem to be objected to by the objectors in the Senate, contains a very lengthy chapter on the limitation of the armament of Germany, showing that it is a frequent subject matter of peace treaties. Therefore, according to the definition of the Supreme Court, the limitation of our armament comes directly within the treaty-making power. More than that, in 1817, we made a treaty with Great Britain in which we agreed not to put naval armament on the Great Lakes if Great Britain agreed not to do so, and she did. I see the same gentleman objects to that as a treaty because he says it did not amount to much. Well, it was an agreement with another nation signed by the executive and confirmed by two thirds of the Senate and my recollection is that that makes a treaty. That provided, as I say, a limitation of armament, and it provided that we might withdraw from it on notice, but that doesn't prevent it being a treaty, and if you can make a treaty for two years, you can make it for ten. As a matter of fact, we have kept that treaty for one hundred years or more; we were glad when we made it and we have been glad ever since. We celebrated the centenary of peace in 1914 and the oratorical periods—I remember, I made some of them myself—referred to the wonderful fact that under an agreement made at that time we had allowed that border of four thousand miles, and especially the Great Lakes, to be utterly undefended; and we pointed to

that as an illustration of what might happen between reasonable nations to avoid war. We were proud of it.

Now these objectors to the treaty, digging around underground, have made the awful disclosure that we were unconstitutional when we adopted that treaty and we have been unconstitutional during the century of its existence in maintaining it. Now, my understanding is that precedent in construing the Constitution should have great influence. Here we have a precedent of one hundred and two years establishing the right of the treaty-making power to include the limitation of armament in the treaties it makes with other countries. I ask you how serious that objection is to the limitation of armament for constitutional reasons.

### Article X

So much for the first step forward towards peace in the treaty. The second is in Article X. What is Article X? By that, the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and the existing political independence of all the members of the League. What is it in effect? It is a union that forces the world to maintain inviolate the international commandment, "Thou shalt not steal." That is all it is. It is the embodiment of the declaration with which we went into this war, that the war was to make the world safe for democracy; it was to destroy the militarism of Germany and to produce a condition in which democracies might pursue the happiness of their people without exhausting their energies in making preparations to resist robber nations who would carry out the principle that Might makes Right. I know this is denied, but that was the purpose of the war and that is the basis on which we went into it. At least that was the whole tone of every argument and address in every patriotic meeting that I attended or ever heard of. That is what carried the soldiers to the other side. That is what spurred them up to their grand record on the other side and this Article X is nothing but the embodiment of that principle and it is a refutation of the principle of conquest on the part of Germany.

Senator Beveridge thinks we ought not to give up the power of conquest because we have improved the world so much by conquest heretofore. We took Mexican territory and substituted Americans for Mexicans and that improved the world. Well, I do not say that war has not advanced civilization incidentally and in a way. It has. But I am going to say that we have reached a stage in the history of the world when we

have got to stop advancing civilization that way or there will be no world. The next general war will be more destructive than this, as much more than this as this was more so than the last war. The developments that were made on the improvement of machines for destroying men and blowing them up were not given full scope in the last year of this war. If it had continued, the destruction would have been frightful and the next war, if it comes on, will be in the nature of a world suicide. Now do I have to argue against the proposition that it is not worth while to kill one-half of the world in order that the other half may get on? Isn't there some other means of advancing the civilization of God? If Mr. Beveridge's view of it is correct, we ought to sit down and write a note to Germany and say, Take back your Kaiser and go on with your war. Because Germany's plea was exactly that of Senator Beveridge. They said they were improving the world. They said they invented kultur; they had a patent on it but they were willing to license it to God in his work of advancing civilization on condition that it should be done through the machinery of the German army. That is all. If you shut your eyes and consider William Beveridge's proposition, you will see a label on it, "Made in Germany." So I will pass on from that. If you think with Senator Beveridge, I cannot argue with you and you can't argue with me. We will just part peaceably.

### Will Not Breed Wars

The next argument against Article X is a formidable one. It is one that is used by most of the objectors to the League in order to appeal to the women of the country. They realize that the women are more sensitive to war than men. They realize that the memories of women are longer than men's, that men are thicker skinned. Women do not forget the midnight vigil; they do not forget lying awake worrying and anxious over their dear ones exposed in war,—they are no jingoists. They are in favor of peace, and they are sincerely in favor of the League as a means of trying whether we cannot maintain peace and avoid war. So these objectors to the League seek to reach them with the argument that this League and Article X will involve us in more war than if we didn't have them at all. Now, is that so? It is said that we are going into constant wars, little wars all over the world, remote,—and that our boys are to be summoned and sent to remote quarters for the purpose of suppressing wars between countries in whom we have no legitimate interest.

In the first place, that is not the way it will work even if we have



those wars. The Council is to prepare a plan and advise the means of preparing obligations under Article X. While the Council can not compel the nation to comply with their plans, the report of the Council will be a reasonable limitation upon the obligations of the nations which they may themselves honorably and sincerely adopt. We have a member on that Council; therefore, we can be sure of a reasonable plan and that reasonable plan must necessarily involve a reasonable distribution of the burdens of the obligations of Article X. It would be reasonable, therefore, to limit the activities under Article X for any small war of this kind between one nation and another,—(a bullying nation picking on a small nation in Asia) to the Asiatic government, or those who have the convenient forces there, if military force is needed. And so, too, with the European countries, the policing of that country, if necessary, would primarily fall under such reasonable plan, upon the European nations. And so with us in the Western Hemisphere. The policing of this Western Hemisphere would naturally fall to us. It would be in accordance with the view of those who are most sensitive to the subject of the extent of the Monroe Doctrine.

Now this suggestion is directed to the argument that we will have a constant series of small wars. If we have a general war, I don't need to make the argument because if we have a general war, or large enough so that if the conflagration spreads, it must be a general war, then we want to get into that war "with both feet" as quickly as possible; because as we look back upon this war—and without criticising anyone, we realize that it would have been a great deal better if we had gone in originally and that the war would have been ended much more promptly.

### Withering Effect of Boycott

But, secondly, if the League operates as it should operate, there will not be these small wars which are suggested as a reason why we are going constantly to need an army and be constantly engaged in war. Why not? In the first place, when any such war is begun, under Article XVI all the nations of the world are under immediate obligation to levy a universal boycott against the outlaw nation. They put a Chinese wall around that country. They shut off all food supplies,—all supplies of raw material; they refuse a market to any product of the country that is beginning the war and must have the means of continuing it. We cut off all business relations of every sort; we do not pay any debts that we owe them; we cut off the cables and the postal facilities and we sever diplomatic relations. We subject them to a withering isolation—such an isolation as no

country except the United States and one or two South American countries can possibly stand without starving. I beg you to consider that, the wonderful penalizing operation, the beautiful penalizing operation of such an organization as the universal boycott. What nation will like to come up against that kind of boycott? How much of a war will it be able to carry on when no neighbor can furnish anything in the way of food and raw material, when it cannot get money for anything that it produces. That in itself and the prospect of it will prevent the nation from going to war. And then if the boycott does not work effectively, then the forces of the neighboring nations will be called in to assist that operation and suppress and inflict a penalty of military destruction upon that nation.

I say, no nation—of course I mean after the stabilization of the condition of Europe today—that is so fluid and chaotic that there will have to be attention to that before we can say that the normal situation is restored. But I mean when peace is restored, the operation of the League is going to prevent the occurrence of any such war. You say that is only reasoning. But the reasoning is thoroughly good, and it is based on human nature. It is the minatory, threatening, cautionary effect of the penalties of the League that are expected to work to prevent war. That is the normal operation of the League. That is the reason why we go into it, not to fight wars, but to have the nations understand that *if* they fight wars, then we do. We fight not for lawless violence or greed of possession, but we fight with lawful force to overcome lawless violence on the same principle that we use the police force in domestic communities.

### Monroe Doctrine

Now you say, that is *a priori*. It is. But if you go back in your own history you have an illustration that ought to *a fortiori* demonstrate this. In 1823 the Holy Alliance, consisting of the great powers of Europe except Great Britain, indicated a purpose to come over here and overthrow the nations which had revolted from Spain, and which we had recognized. Canning of England was greatly troubled about it. Thomas Jefferson was consulted and he advised uniting with England to prevent it. John C. Calhoun did so. But Monroe and Adams conceived the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine and put it into the message of Monroe of that year. The doctrine was merely the application of the principle of Article X to the aggression of European nations against the territorial integrity and political independence of American nations. It announced that if any of those nations came over here to take the territory or overthrow the independence

of an American nation, they would have to fight not only that American nation, but the United States as well. Now the Senate was opposed to it and Congress was opposed to it and Thomas H. Benton made the speech of his life against it. The bitterness was greater then than it is today against the League, and the argument was that it would involve us in so many ways that it would destroy the country. Nevertheless, the doctrine was issued and what has been the result? That is ninety-six years ago, and that doctrine has been maintained inviolate ever since, without our engaging in war on account of it and without firing a shot or losing a man. Just because we threatened.

There was one instance of a violation that was an exception but it is the exception that proves the rule. During the Civil War when our hands were tied so that we could not act and could not maintain the threat, then Napoleon III, that fakir Emperor of France, sent troops over here to Mexico and set up the Empire of Maximilian. He did it for three years against our protest, but we had no means of resisting. Then Appomatox came and we sent Sheridan with thirty or forty thousand troops to the Mexican border, and the interest of Napoleon in Mexico ended and he withdrew his troops, and the empire of Maximilian passed and he was tried and shot, and the independence of Mexico was restored. That shows the Monroe Doctrine has been maintained by the threat of the United States with the power to back up that threat. The minute that the power was taken away, the minute it was seen that the United States could not act, then the greedy nations of Europe came over here—and they had been greedy all the time for colonization in other countries than in America. If that be the result of a threat of one nation which has not the power of imposing the universal boycott, what must necessarily be the result of the union of all nations within the League, beginning with the universal boycott, with its withering isolation and destructive character? I say, no nation will court such disaster. The League becomes effective by its minatory character and its overwhelming power. These features of the League will take away the necessity for the actual exercise of force.

. That is the second great step.

### We Can "Agree" to Make War

I don't know whether I ought to stop to argue the question whether we can agree to make war or not. It is said we cannot agree to make war because congress has to make war. Of course congress has to declare, to make, war, but we can agree in advance that under certain conditions we will make war. We have done it. We guaranteed the integrity of Pan-

ama. Isn't that Article X? Was that unconstitutional? That was in 1902. Has anybody been heard to say that was unconstitutional? We guaranteed the integrity of Cuba; we guaranteed the integrity of other nations long before Panama in connection with the Canal. Isn't sauce for the goose, sauce for the gander? Why should it be necessary to lug in these imponderable constitutional arguments when precedent shows that they have no weight at all? So I am not going to waste time in pausing to make a further answer.

Then the third step forward is that which provides for the settlement of differences peaceably. That provides, if two nations have a difference, they shall arbitrate and the nations covenant to abide the arbitration. Then there is a specification in the words of Mr. Root as to what steps are arbitrable: The violation of treaties, international law, questions of international law, and facts needed to establish rights under treaties or international law. There is a provision for the organization of a court and the provision that an arbitration of the council may call for the advice of the court when organized and that the court may be used by voluntary submission as a tribunal for decision. For the decision of cases between states there is no obligatory provision as to arbitration, but if nations should disagree about arbitration then the question goes as of course for mediation by the council and if the council is not satisfactory, either party may ask that the assembly mediate. The duty of mediation consists first in trying to get the parties to agree, hearing the case just as a court would hear it, and ultimately if they cannot get the parties to agree, making a recommendation of settlement,— and if the recommendation of settlement is unanimous then it is the basis for a settlement in this form: The nations covenant not to make war until three months after the award or until three months after the recommendation of settlement and *not then* if the nation against whom the award has been made or the settlement recommended complies with the award or the settlement. In other words it is eminently drawn for the purpose of restraining the aggressive nation and limiting it to the remedies allowed by the recommendation of settlement of the nation against whom that recommendation is made complies with the settlement or the award.

If there is no compliance with that unanimous settlement, then the nations are to do nothing. There is nothing said as to the performance of that recommendation—I mean the compulsory performance of it, but the nation seeking it is allowed to pursue such remedies as it may see fit. In other words it can go on with the war, fight with that nation against whom it has a judgment, so to speak, and use that means of compelling it. But

the other nations are under no obligation to act and there is no mention of their doing anything. There was such a suggestion in the first covenant but that has been now omitted.

### Let's Get What We Can

That is not a complete and perfect plan for the settlement of differences. I could have drawn a better plan, I think; doubtless all who hear me could have drawn a better plan; but I was not invited to and neither was anybody else. This was a result of the conference of fourteen different representatives. It does grate me somewhat and I submit I have a right to object, from a personal standpoint, to find gentlemen who opposed the universal arbitration treaties—and who opposed the League of Nations recommended by our League to Enforce Peace in which there was a specific plan for the hearing of justiciable cases and machinery for determination of justiciable cases and bringing the nations in to abide judgment in such cases—to have these gentlemen that defeated those particular things or opposed them, now criticise this League because it does not contain those things that they opposed. I am in favor of getting what we can. I believe as we go on, if we get our foot inside the door, we shall open it up, and with the power of amendment of the League, we can so amend the League, as the Constitution was amended, that we can perfect its operation if we all go in sincerely to make it work. If we do not find sincere coöperation, then we can get out of the League on two years' notice; but here is the great opportunity to get a boon for mankind and to help this nation and the world,—and now are we to stand on mere technical objections, filed with all the meticulousness of a lawyer with a desperate case before the Supreme Court. That is not the spirit with which we should approach a great issue like this, affecting human kind.

### A Chance for Public Opinion

Even if this is not war proof, as we admit that it is not, it provides a *locus penitentiae* for the parties in the hearing of the case when they all covenant to restrain war for three months after judgment. It provides for the operation of the public opinion of the world through the agencies of the League in knocking the heads of the parties together to see if they cannot come to some voluntary agreement. It enables the people of each nation to understand the attitude of the other quarreling nation and with the suggestion by recommendation as to what the right or wrong of the issue is, most threatened wars will be settled. That some wars will follow

I shall not propose to deny ; I am not here as a vendor of quack medicines, with sure-cures ; I do not think that appeals to the confidence of people ; certainly not to lawyers. I feel in that respect, if I may use a somewhat undignified illustration, as in the case of the announcements of the hair elixir in which I have considerable interest these days, which terminates—after describing the glossy, curly result that will come from its application—“but it must be noted that we do not guarantee to cure a *shiny*, bald head.”

Proponents of this League do not guarantee the abolition of war, but they say it will work in most cases and that if it does, the enormous value of the result justifies the sharing of the burdens with other nations of the obligations needed to bring it about.

### Open Diplomacy

The fourth great step forward is open diplomacy. Heretofore many important treaties have been secret, especially those of offensive and defensive character promising war. Now they are all to be open. Now they are to be spread in the secretariat of the League, just as the deeds of titles to land in the community are filed in the Recorder's office. So when you go to deal with a nation, you can go to the secretariat of the League and find all the obligations that are binding against that nation. In the past, these secret treaties have led to difficulties and often to war. The Triple Alliance was a secret treaty ; the Entente between France and Russia was a secret treaty ; this London Pact over which they are having such a fuss in respect to Fiume and the Dalmatian coast was a secret treaty. Now all that is to be abolished. Every one is to be “in on the ground floor.” Straightforwardness is to be introduced into diplomacy. We are to play the game of diplomacy with the cards face up on the table.

That makes the four great steps. Now, my friends, here they are :

First:—The reduction of armament to such a point that everything will be defensive instead of offensive.

Second:—The guaranty against stealing and territorial independence, backed up by the pressure, economic and military, of the world.

Third:—The settling of differences peaceably. The reconciliation of parties and their mediation and the explanation of their issues, to draw down the public opinion of the world.

Fourth:—Then, open diplomacy.

With these four great steps, we have every reason to hope that war will be pushed into remoteness. United—they make the greatest step for-

ward ever taken by the world in the interest of mankind to avoid the scourge of war.

### Covenant and Treaty Inseparable

It is said that we ought to make the treaty of peace and then separate the League and consider that at our leisure. I don't know whether you have followed—I have no doubt you have—the arguments against the League. If you have and have seen the manifestation of any sense of responsibility of those who have objected to the League for the execution and carrying out of the treaty of peace, you have seen more than I have. I have not seen a single argument based on the view that the peace-treaty presented any trouble or any problem at all. Now let me suggest some difficulties.

The first one is that we are said to have overthrown Germany. We have destroyed her military power, it is said. Yes, but we have not destroyed Germany and we have not destroyed her spirit—at least if we can judge by circumstances, she is still in many regards unrepentant.

We have limited her armament to two hundred thousand men, to be reduced in a short time to one hundred thousand; the destruction of certain fortifications; restriction upon her manufacture of ammunition and arms, of submarine and aeroplanes. She is forbidden to resort to conscription and there are a number of other restraining provisions, and their effect must last for ten or fifteen years.

Do you think that if we went away and left our treaty and trusted only to M. Clemenceau to write a note to President Ebert, inviting his attention to the obligations of Germany under the treaty and asking Germany politely to comply with them, that we could enforce that treaty? Do you think Germany is in that condition of mind? If you do, you are greener than the fields of corn that we like to look on now. You have got to enforce that treaty by power and power behind it, the same power that won the war, or the treaty won't be enforced. How are you going to get the power? You are going to get it only from the League of Nations that dictated that treaty, who are the nations that declared war against Germany and many of them carried it on. That is the only way. And when you have the foundation of a League of Nations brought about by the force of circumstances, you have got the beginning of a new institution in the world.

### How Institutions Grow

Leagues do not grow out of conventions of college professors. I have attended those conventions. I am a college professor. I know. You go and discuss such a plan and the discussions are valuable; you print your

speeches if you have the money and circulate them if you have the money and your friends take them and put them in a pigeon hole for future reference. They are not drawn out again until the circumstances require a consideration of that as a practical solution of a real situation. That is the way that most institutions are brought into the world. The circumstances make it necessary. It is like a house beginning with a small family that is increasing and every time they need a room, they put on an "L." It does not add to the architectural beauty of the house but it has this advantage—that every part of the house was put on for practical use at the time it was built. And this is the way the British constitution was built. The Habeas Corpus Act and all other adjective processes making the bill of rights were introduced into the British constitution to meet an existing and pressing abuse.

That is the way institutions that are permanent in the world are created. That is the reason this League of Nations will be created, by the force of circumstances, that required it. You cannot get along without it.

I do not refer to a league of world nations, but I mean the League of Nations that is engaged in enforcing this treaty. The first thing is to keep Germany on her knees, to keep her in that graceful, useful posture until she brings forth works meet for repentance. Then we can take her into the League and give her the same treatment that other nations have. But we have got to maintain the power to keep that status until the time comes, and you can get no such power without the League of Nations.

Read Senator Lodge's speech made shortly after the armistice, describing what the peace was that had to be made. It is a luminous exposition. You can leave out the latter part where it argues against the League of Nations because that was academic. There was no covenant at the time. But take up that exposition and you will see how the treaty shaped itself reasoning from the armistice and its terms, and following the principle of self-determination. There are four independent, strong, powerful states, if they are allowed to develop, Finland and the Baltic provinces, Poland and Ukrania which are created between Russia and Germany. What for? For strategical purposes—to keep Germany out of Russia. She has been trying to get in there for years. She forced that treaty of Brest-Litovsk for the purpose of taking over Russia. These nations are created for the purpose of keeping her out.

Then she had a dream of a Central Empire, of all the central countries of Europe down to the Bosphorous and then across in Asia Minor, uniting



all that empire with a steel bond of the Hamburg-to-Bagdad Railway and the Persian Gulf. That is to be interfered with. How? By the creation of the Czech-Slovak state and of ten million Slavs of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, which is a way station in Germany, on that railroad. That, with the Jugo-Slav state carved out of Southern Hungary and Southern Austria as they were, and Herzegovina, Bosnia, Croatia, reaching to the Adriatic, that is another block to the Central Empire. Then comes Transylvania, which contains more Rumanians than Hungarians, it is taken from Hungary and added to Rumania to make another block in the plan. Then we come to Constantinople to be under the League, to be administered for all the nations of the world and to keep open the straits between the Black Sea and the Ægean Sea.

### New Nations Must Be Stabilized

And that bird, that lame, sick bird, Turkey, is to be eliminated from Europe. Her legs and wings and breast are to be cut up into autonomies, the autonomy of Palestine, the autonomy of Armenia, the autonomy of Syria, the autonomy of Arabia, and the autonomy of the Caucasus and the autonomy of Mesopotamia. If you count them over, you will find a dozen nations independent of the old empires created. They are for the strategic purpose of keeping the Central countries from again conspiring against the world. But that condition has to be stabilized. It is fluid now. There is a chaotic condition there and there must be some power to stabilize it. Treaties are to be as long as the moral law. The differences which will arise between them are myriad. Somebody will have to settle those differences. Somebody will have to see that the settlements are authoritative. Some power must exist to back up those settlements or else you will have confusion worse confounded and more war than ever before.

Then, over and above all is the spectre of Bolshevism that comes from Russia, militant Bolshevism, that awful doctrine, that doctrine that would overturn everything that is decent in society, that doctrine that Lenine announces is legitimately manifested in the dictatorship, whilst the Proletariat of two hundred thousand succeeds the dictatorship and lordly landowners of one hundred fifty thousand to rule over one hundred eighty millions, only distinguished from the former dictatorship "because it is in the interest of the masses," secured by force, secured by the suppression of every individual right, the right of free speech, the right of the free press, and secured by compulsory labor.

Read John Spargo, the Socialist; the description by Lenine himself of Bolshevism and see what a terrible force it is. Mass murder and other pleasant circumstances are there as instances of the government, and it is militant. The properties they are plundering they use to pay the Red Guards to spread unrest and the force which is to overthrow all society, and they have gotten into Hungary; they are pressing again into Germany; they have pressed into Bavaria and they are pressing into Vienna. Nowhere is there unrest that they do not seek to take advantage of it. There is soil for Bolshevism in France and Italy and Great Britain.

Isn't it to our interest to uphold modern society? We do not fear Bolshevism in this country—perhaps—unless Europe becomes Bolshevist, unless England and the rest of them become Bolshevist and then it will be a real threat.

### Our Free Institutions Misunderstood

The spirit of our free institutions prevents: Take these little concentrations of loud-mouthed anarchists and socialists and bolshevists; they are misled as to the character of the American people. They do not understand our tolerance; they do not understand our traditional desire for freedom of speech, so that it irks us to have any restraint or punishment for it. When they stand on barrel heads and announce their theories in foreign languages to their various followings, and the speeches are translated, and nothing is done to them, they think everybody acquiesces. They do not understand our spirit which is—and I think it is a sanitary method—that the best way to get rid of a bad smell is to let it evaporate into the air. If you will read Kipling's "American Spirit," you will see how he understands it. If Bolshevism persists here there will be a reaction that will be ruthless in its severity and this will make a deep impression on those who survive. Nevertheless, it is our duty to see that it does not get any further. Through the League of Nations we must stabilize modern society and retain that which we have been two thousand years fighting to protect, to stabilize the guaranties of Liberty—life, liberty and the right of property. It is idle to call the Lenine government a democracy when he drove by force the selected representatives of Russia, elected by universal suffrage under careful registration of all men and women of Russia. It was found that the Bolshevists have a very small minority. That was enough for them to summon the Red Guards and drive the delegates home and close forever the Assembly during their power.

## Are We Quitters?

Now, my friends, don't we owe it to Europe, don't we owe it to ourselves, don't we owe it to the world to establish a league of nations, which will stabilize what is worth having in our civilization? Are we quitters? Are we slackers? Are we going to fight the battle in the field and leave the peace which represents the fruit of our effort, which represents the justification of our sacrifices, to go as meaning nothing? Or are we going to stand up and with the tremendous power that God has given us, as the most powerful nation of the world, with resources beyond compare, with people of the highest average intelligence of one hundred million or more, and the military potentiality that we demonstrated on the fields of Belgium and France—are we going to allow that great power to operate in no way in the settlement of this great war in which we took an honorable part? Are we going to run away from it, saying as one statement was made, "We have licked the Huns, and now you clean up the mess." Isn't that a grand vision of the situation?

If you believe that the objections to this League are real, if you believe they are fair, that the boon that the League offers does not justify the endangering of the nation and assuming that risk, then it is your duty to use your influence against the ratification of the League. But if you feel as I do that this represents the greatest possible step forward to save civilization, then you will use your influence with your senators and notify them to support the League. But what I urge you to do is to purge your minds and souls from unworthy considerations in reference to the issue. Take it upon its merits. If, because you do not like Mr. Wilson, or don't like that administration, or don't like the democratic party—any more than I do—and think it may redound to the credit of that party and so oppose the League, then you are acting from unworthy motives, irrelevant and incompetent to any such issue.

I am a Republican and hope to live and die a Republican. No matter whether they read me out of the party or not, I can vote the Republican ticket.

## Meaning of Parties

Now I believe in parties. A party is essential in popular government to interpret the will of the majority. A party is an organization in which the members agree on general principles waiving minor differences. They select their candidates and adopt their platforms representing those prin-

ciples. Then they invite the support of the people, and if a majority of the people support the party, it carries out the will of the majority. That is the only way you can interpret the will of the majority into governmental action. That is what popular government is. But there are certain issues that arise above party, that transcend all parties and all party triumphs that are merely temporary. Those issues usually grow out of something very fundamental. This issue is as fundamental as the Declaration of Independence, the constitution of the United States or the issues of the Civil War. And speaking of the Constitution, I beg of you to go back and read the discussions on that instrument, and see how much it was abused and what dangers were anticipated in working it out. By great men, too. Men who, if they were alive today, would be glad to wipe out what they said about the Constitution.

With this issue so transcendent, an issue that grows out of the international relations, we may well say that when we step across the frontier, when we go down beyond low water mark and confront the nations of the world, we stand neither as Democrats nor as Republicans, but as Americans.

My friend, suppose you were a Senator, or suppose you had a power to influence a Senator and you influenced him against the League. Suppose the League came in and it worked those benefits that we believe it will work and twenty-five years later, after that had been demonstrated, your grand-son should come up to you and say, "Grand-dad, why did you vote against the League?" Suppose you are a man who voted against the League because you hate Mr. Wilson—men have told me that they hated Mr. Wilson and so they were going to vote against the League. I said to one the other day, "My dear Sir, don't you see how utterly illogical and absurd you are? Why, you are allowing yourself to be influenced by a man whom you hate, to oppose something you would otherwise support. Just think, you magnify and allow your personal feelings towards him and his influence upon you to be so great that you do not examine the merits of a question which concerns your country and the world." Now when this grand-son of yours, twenty-five years from now, should come up to you (and you had voted against the League because you hated Wilson) and when he should ask you in the light of the beneficial operation of the League, "Grand-dad, why did you vote against the League?" What will you tell him? You will do one of two things; you will either say, "Run away, Grand-son, you do not understand those issues" or else you will lie about it.

# A LEAGUE TO PREVENT WAR

With a Review of the Fight Against  
the Formation of the United States

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*An Address by the*

HON. W. G. McADOO

*at the*

METHODIST CENTENARY  
CELEBRATION

COLUMBUS, OHIO, JULY 4, 1919

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# A LEAGUE TO PREVENT WAR

By the

HON. W. G. McADOO

THE Christian Church represents the greatest spiritual and moral force in the world, and there never was a time when those forces were so imperatively needed as now. Co-operation between all denominations of the Christian Church is essential for the world's salvation. It will require the mobilized effort of the Church militant to secure the fruits of the great victory for liberty, democracy and world peace which has been won through the blood and valor of America's sons and the blood and valor of the sons of our Allies who fought with us in the titanic struggle just ended.

The Methodist Church has always been a militant influence for good. It has stood unswervingly for humanity, for progress, and for world peace. Although war is abhorrent to every Christian instinct and principle, the Church has stood for war only when it was convinced that the Christian objective—world peace—could be obtained by no other means.

We are now facing the most critical situation in which the world has ever found itself, the disposition of our victory. Shall we so dispose of it that human slaughter through war must still be the arbiter of the destiny of nations, or shall we so dispose of it that the glorious goal for which humanity has striven through thousands of years of unspeakable misery, torture and sacrifice shall now be realized—viz: The settlement of international disputes by judicial processes and the establishment of world peace through the cooperative effort of the great nations of the earth?

## **Organize Our Victory!**

A League of Nations to prevent war would consolidate and organize our victory and make practically certain the peace of the

world in the future. A blessing so colossal seems unattainable, and yet it is within our grasp if we have the vision, the courage and the determination to take it. Here is where the Church faces its noblest opportunity, and its greatest responsibility.

We must not permit any man or set of men to destroy the League of Nations. We must not permit any man or set of men to emasculate it. We must not permit any man or set of men to put the peace of the world again in peril. The issue is so momentous that the very future of civilization is at stake and humanity from every stricken quarter of the suffering world cries out in agony to Christianity to save it. We are face to face with prodigious events when blind men must not be permitted to lead. It is a tragic fact in history that every great step in human progress has been won against the resistance of blind, fatuous and uncomprehending men whose advice and leadership, if followed, would have kept us in the dark ages.

We are celebrating to-day the 143rd anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The American Colonies planted the seed of freedom and equality in the soil of the Western Hemisphere and then began that irrepressible struggle between democracy and autocracy which culminated in democracy's triumph on the battlefields of France in November, 1918. The signing of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, coming so near the day we celebrate, gives it added significance and joyousness. Little did the men of 1776 realize that they had launched a war against autocracy which would require 142 years of struggle to win, and yet they did have the vision to see that the salvation of humanity depended upon freedom and equality of the individual, self-government through democratic institutions and denial of the divine right of kings. As the thirteen feeble American Colonies took the step in 1776 which secured their liberty and independence after six years of desperate war and subsequently consolidated their victory through a Federal Union which brought into existence the greatest Republic of all time, so now that Republic, by combining its strength with the great democracies of Europe, has destroyed the greatest autocratic governments on earth and has given to the people of Europe the opportunity of establishing self-government by so organizing their victory that the peace of the world may be secured. It rests with us and

with them to say whether this is a victory of peace or a victory of war.

### Opposition to the Constitution

It is illuminating to recall at this time the events that led up to the formulation and adoption of our own Federal Constitution and to outline the character of the fight which was made against the organization of this great Republic, because they present, in many respects, a striking parallel to the character of fight which is now being made against the ratification of the League of Nations.

The Treaty of Paris of 1783 secured the independence of the American Colonies. Up to that time the common danger had given them cohesion in the war. But no sooner had the victory been won than the jealousies and rivalries of the several States began to assert themselves. Then, as now, a more critical situation was presented than the war itself had engendered. How to make liberty and independence impregnable and to secure future peace was then, as now, the great problem. Cooperation between the various States not only ceased but commercial war between them began. Disputes about territory arose and actual hostilities occurred between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. War was narrowly averted. New York and New Hampshire had a similar territorial dispute which almost eventuated in war. Financial distress pervaded every State. There was no reliable medium of exchange and trade and commerce were hampered everywhere. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island actual rebellion broke out and civil war was threatened. Each State was striving for its own advantage, and selfish interest and bitter antagonism were rapidly producing a condition of anarchy which threatened to destroy all that had been gained by six years of war. The question arose as to whether there should be one nation or thirteen nations.

In this crisis, great patriots like Washington, Madison, and Franklin succeeded in bringing about a Convention in Philadelphia to consider the formation of a Federal Union. The Convention met in May, 1787, in historic Independence Hall, and after four months of earnest and oftentimes acrimonious debate, produced the present Constitution of the United States, but it was not to become effective unless ratified by nine of the States. A



bitter contest over ratification then ensued. The opponents of the Constitution passionately denounced the present charter of our liberties, under which the greatest Republic of all the ages has grown up, as a "triple-headed monster" and they declared it to be "as deep and wicked a conspiracy as ever was invented in the darkest ages against the liberties of a free people."

### Violent Denunciation

This is precisely the kind of denunciation of the League of Nations in which men, who must be the lineal descendants of the short-sighted men who fought the Constitution of the United States, have been engaging. So violent was the fight on the Constitution that it was publicly burned in Albany, New York, and in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Not content with this, some of the leading advocates were publicly burned in effigy. In some States riots occurred, with loss of life. The opponents of the Constitution, in their blindness and passion, denounced the venerable Benjamin Franklin as a "dotard" and George Washington as a "fool." How similar to the present intemperate assaults upon the second great charter of human liberty, the League of Nations, which has been made possible by the wisdom and far-seeing statesmanship of men like those who formulated our own Federal Constitution and gave being to this great Republic!

With extreme difficulty the requisite number of States were induced to ratify the Constitution. To show how close the contest was: in Massachusetts the vote was 187 in favor and 168 against, a majority of only 19; in Virginia it was 89 in favor and 79 against, a majority of only 10; in New Hampshire it was 57 in favor and 46 against, a majority of only 11; in New York it was 30 in favor and 27 against, a majority of only 3. The contest in New York determined the fate of the thirteen Colonies, and yet for a long time it was not believed that her approval of the Union could be secured. Governor George Clinton, an irreconcilable opponent, went into the Convention at Poughkeepsie with two-thirds of the delegates standing solidly behind him against ratification. But Alexander Hamilton, with only one-third of the delegation behind him, conducted for forty days a running debate where the brilliancy of his defense of the Consti-

tution and the sheer force of his intellectual power overcame the opposition, and New York was won over to the cause of liberty and national unity. This assured the organization of the United States of America, but it was by a frightfully narrow margin. Suppose that the unprogressive and uncomprehending opponents of the Federal Union had been successful, what would have been the fate of America? One cannot picture it. But God ruled and the Federal Union was won. It brought peace to the distracted thirteen States. It removed all causes of dispute. It brought a free intercourse between them and established a cooperation which made them potential not only for their own protection against external aggression, but enabled them to conquer a vast continent and give to it the blessings of liberty under law and self-government from one end of its broad domain to the other.

In 1788 the Constitution of the United States became operative and George Washington was made the first President in April, 1789. At that time autocratic government was in the saddle throughout the world. The Federal Constitution was the "most gigantic step in constructive statesmanship" that had ever been taken in all history. It marked the beginning not only of a new era, but of a new ideal that was to possess the world. Oppressed men of all nations turned eager eyes to the feeble light of liberty which had been lit in the New World and which gradually grew into the consuming flame which has finally reduced autocracy to ashes.

### **The Next Step to Liberty**

As the Constitution was the great progressive step in liberty and peace for the American Colonies, so the League of Nations is now the great progressive step for the maintenance of liberty and democracy and the preservation of peace between the nations of the world. It is the "most gigantic step in constructive statesmanship" since the birth of the Federal Union, and yet it is resisted by the same type of uncomprehending men who fought the adoption of the Federal Constitution. They have the same obliquity of vision, the same selfishness of view, the same indifference to humanity and the same lack of interest in the masses of mankind. They oppose an effective organization to prevent war. They prefer to preserve our imaginary isolation. They regard war as an ineradicable feature of civilized society, and

look upon its recurrence with the same indifference that characterized the opponents of the Constitution of the United States. They denounce the League of Nations, as the opponents of the Federal Constitution denounced it, as a dastardly attempt against the liberties of free peoples.

The great men who are responsible for the Federal Constitution have emblazoned their names in imperishable letters upon the scroll of fame. All men know them. Who can obscure the fame of Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton and Jefferson? They had the vision, the foresight, and the patriotism to bring into existence this great Republic which has not only prospered the American people and protected their liberty, but has had a profound influence upon the destinies of the world. What of their opponents? Who knows them or has ever heard of them? With few exceptions, they have sunk into obscurity and are neither known nor heard of unless by some student of history who takes the pains to investigate the past and to search out, as a warning to himself and to others, the narrow views and opinions of those whose chief mark of identification is that they were the implacable foes of the Constitution of the United States.

### **The League Covenant**

Incorporated in the treaty are the provisions for the League of Nations. What is this League and what is it to do? Fundamentally, it is a cooperative agreement between thirty-two nations to prevent war by forcing all the nations concerned to submit international disputes either to arbitration or to conference and discussion before resorting to war. The machinery by which this is accomplished I shall outline briefly.

First, an Assembly or Congress of the nations is provided for in which each nation has three representatives and in which each nation has one vote. Second, a Council of nine members is constituted, of which five of the great powers, namely, the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, are permanent members. The other four members of the Council will be selected by the Assembly. The Council is an executive body merely and will have the general direction and supervision of the affairs of the League. The League is not a super-sovereignty. It is not even an international legislature. It is an international

conference. In the meetings of the Assembly, as well as of the Council, unanimous vote is required for effective action, except in such minor matters as procedure at meeting and appointment of Committees.

Objection has been raised by opponents of the League that small nations are given the same voting power as large nations. What difference does this make, so long as unanimous vote is essential to action? The one vote of the United States is, therefore, just as potential as the votes of all the other nations combined, since no action can be taken without its concurrence.

The first meeting of the Assembly and of the Council will be called by the President of the United States. Our country is given the distinction of initiating the proceedings under this new charter of liberty, democracy and humanity, just as our forefathers initiated the proceedings for the formulation of the Federal Constitution and the organization of the great democracy under which we live.

A permanent Secretariat, which is the administrative arm of the League, is established and all positions under or in connection with the League are available to men and women alike.

### **Fundamental Purpose**

The fundamental purpose of the League is the prevention of war. If it should accomplish nothing else than this, it would confer upon humanity the most inestimable boon with which it has been blessed since civilization began. How is the prevention of war to be accomplished? First of all, it was necessary to destroy autocratic government everywhere before any foundation for a League of Nations could be laid. Every effort of the nations in times past to organize for the prevention of war has failed because autocratic and despotic governments were not only unwilling to enter into effective guarantees for the preservation of peace, but they refused to be bound by agreements of this character. They held that it was incompatible with the divinity of the right they exercised to surrender any portion of their power and that they could violate such arrangements at will. Although civilized society has been organized on the basis of law and order within nations themselves, there has

never been any law between nations which made war itself a crime and fixed personal responsibility upon those guilty of provoking it. Consequently despots and autocrats have, throughout history, precipitated needless wars upon the theory that "the king could do no wrong" and untold millions of human beings have been sacrificed for this fictitious doctrine. We all know now that kings cannot only do wrong, but that they have frequently committed the most colossal wrongs upon mankind. We also know that if the fiction that "the king can do no wrong" had been destroyed centuries ago, millions of human lives would have been saved and untold human suffering would have been avoided, because so long as kings have thought that they could make war with impunity and that the people alone would suffer, they have not hesitated to do so.

### Eliminate Causes of War

The League of Nations seeks to prevent the recurrence of war by eliminating as far as possible the causes which lead to war through

- (1) the limitation of armaments,
- (2) guaranties of territorial integrity and political independence,
- (3) the abolition of secret treaties,
- (4) compulsory conferences to discuss questions of common interest that may from time to time arise and thereby to bring about cooperation among the nations concerned.

One of the most serious causes of wars in the past has been the creation of vast armaments and great standing armies which have been a constant temptation to aggression by that nation which was possessed of a preponderant force. So long as the policy of any one power was to build up great military and naval establishments, other powers had to enter into competition as a matter of self-defense. The result was that the leading nations of Europe have been for generations past great armed camps ready to spring at each other's throats and precipitate wars upon slight provocation or for causes which no impartial tribunal would, upon investigation, consider adequate.

## 1. LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS:

One of the most important purposes of the League is therefore the reduction of armaments upon an established scale which will put all the members of the League upon an equality as near as may be in the matter of organized force. Plans for such reductions are to be prepared by the Council and submitted to the several governments concerned, but no plans are to become binding on any nation until adopted by it. Congress is not deprived of any of its prerogatives in this matter, but, on the contrary, retains the sole power to determine what armed forces, military and naval, shall be maintained by the United States. If, however, our Congress should adopt the recommendation of the League for reduction of armaments, then no increase in such armaments may be made without the consent of the League for a period of ten years, at the end of which time the plan will be subject to reconsideration and revision.

In order to enforce this provision, the Council is to advise as to how the evil effects of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition can be prevented, with a view to the adoption by governments of the policy of manufacturing for themselves instead of through private interests such war materials as are required for their safety. All members of the League are to interchange full and frank advices as to their military and naval programs in order that each member of the League may know what the other is doing in respect to armaments. This is the first step toward the prevention of war—the limitation of armaments—so that no nation will have a preponderant armed force and be tempted to use it to attack another in the execution of some selfish aim or purpose. The United States is not disadvantaged, but advantaged by this provision, because it is in line with our historic policy of limited armament and puts all other nations on an equality of armed strength with us.

## 2. GUARANTIES OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

Throughout all history, one of the greatest incentives to war has been the lust of ambitious rulers to extend their power and dominion over other peoples and to absorb the territory of other nations. After every great war the map of Europe has been

changed and peoples have been transferred from one sovereignty to another without regard to their feelings or interests. The results of the present war are not different from those of all other great wars, so far as changing the map of Europe is concerned, although the motives for such change are this time quite different from those which have heretofore controlled. We are now trying to restore to the different peoples of the world the territories which of right belong to them and to set them up once more as politically independent sovereignties with the added right of self-government. The magnitude of this task is exceeded only by its difficulties. There are so many races in Europe and the intermingling of populations along their borders has been so continuous that there are many areas which cannot with accuracy be ethnologically defined. There are, so to speak, twilight zones of populations which are neither predominantly one nationality or another, and, therefore, the new nations which are to be established under the peace treaty are in some instances given boundaries which must be tested for a reasonable length of time under conditions of stabilized government before the wisdom of such boundaries can be demonstrated. Moreover, some of these nations will be stronger, of necessity, than others. Their peoples are unaccustomed to self-government and must create a political organization and a status themselves. This is notably true of restored Poland and Czecho-Slovakia which will need, for some time, guarantees against external aggression which will enable their people to work out their destiny without fear of aggression from their neighbors and under favoring conditions of peace. No less important are these guarantees against external aggression and of political independence to the larger state of Europe than to the smaller. Once it is firmly and clearly established that no nation may commit aggressions upon its neighbors, all may settle down to peaceful pursuits and build up again the prosperity and happiness of their peoples under stable and well ordered government.

Article X of the covenant, therefore, wisely provides that each member of the League shall respect and preserve as against *external* aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. It must be borne in mind that this covenant does not permit the League of Nations to interfere in any uprisings or disturbances within a state itself.

The right of revolution against oppressive internal authority remains unaffected and unimpaired, and every people is left to determine for itself what its form of government shall be and how its internal or domestic affairs shall be conducted.

Mr. Root suggested an amendment to this article providing that after the expiration of five years from the signing of the convention any nation might terminate its obligation under Article X by giving one year's notice in writing to the Secretary General of the League. Since Mr. Root's suggestion a provision has been incorporated in the revised draft of the covenant which is even more favorable to the termination of the obligation than Mr. Root proposed. Any member of the League may, under the revised draft, withdraw from the League after two years' notice of its intention to do so, provided that all its international obligations under the League covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal. The effect of the revised covenant, therefore, is to enable any nation to terminate its obligation to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of the other members of the League after two years' notice of its intention so to do, instead of being bound for five years, as Mr. Root suggested.

### **A Far-Fetched Argument**

The argument that this guarantee will involve us in every European quarrel is far-fetched for the following reasons:

(1) We cannot be drawn into any war unless our Congress first authorizes it.

(2) After all European armaments are reduced practically to an internal police force basis, any war or attempted war will be a small affair because of the limited armed forces available.

(3) The control by governments of the manufacture of war munitions and the destruction of great war plants like the Krupps will prevent would-be belligerents from getting the necessary supplies of arms and ammunition.

(4) In case of conflict in Europe the nearby powers would be called on first to provide the necessary forces, as in case of conflict on the American continent, the United States would be asked to take the matter in hand. But, and I repeat it, in no



case is the United States bound to go to war or supply an armed force without the authorization of the Congress.

Mr. Root has recently surprised his friends and admirers by urging that Article X be stricken from the League Covenant. He has given no explanation for his sudden change of position. He is unable, however, to refute the convincing argument he first made in favor of guaranties of the territorial integrity and the political independence of all members of the League of Nations.

### Article X Heart of Covenant

To eliminate this guaranty is to extract the red corpuscles from the blood of the League and render it a weak and anemic institution incapable of fulfilling the purposes of its creation. Unless the people of each nation can be secured against external aggression, territorial disputes will continue to arise and jeopardize the peace of the world. I think the fears that this guarantee will involve America in every future European conflict that may arise and that we are committed to an indefinite engagement to send our sons to fight in unknown and unanticipated European wars are unfounded. We can always terminate the engagement by withdrawing from the League upon two years' previous notice. Article X will put an end to the menace of war from territorial disputes, but if eliminated from the League, so that these controversies remain a fruitful cause of war, then we shall be involved again in European conflicts, because it is impossible to separate America from the rest of the world and leave her in the imaginary isolation which opponents of the League beguile themselves into believing is a sufficient security for our future peace. In fact, the guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence against *external* aggression only, as Article X provides, will not only prevent war by deterring the signatory powers from attempting it in violation of this Article, but in case of such disputes the League itself supplies the machinery for peaceful settlement, either by arbitration or by inquiry on the part of the Council.

Germany has not accepted the Treaty of Peace voluntarily. Naturally she will comply with its covenants reluctantly. The other Central Powers will doubtless sign in the same mood. This makes it essential that the strength of the Allied Governments

remain organized and that their cooperation be continued if Germany and her late allies are to be made to fulfil the obligations of the Treaty. How can the power of the Allies be more effectively consolidated and applied for these purposes than through the League of Nations? Separate the League of Nations from the Treaty and it would be utterly impossible to enforce the Treaty not only upon Germany, but upon all the other powers concerned.

### **Treaty Must Be Enforced**

Never in all history has it been so necessary that an effective instrumentality for the interpretation of a Treaty and for the enforcement of its terms be provided as in the present instance, because never in the history of the world has peace been re-established after a great war upon such a revolutionary basis. Not only has the form of old governments been changed, but new ones have been established, creating intricate problems which cannot be finally disposed of in the terms of peace. Imagine what would happen if there was no League of Nations. Germany would proceed to re-arm herself as promptly as possible in order to renew the struggle and to regain what she has lost. France and England and Italy would also have to begin preparing themselves for the next war by building up their war power to the very limit of their strength. The United States would have to do the same thing. The backs of the people of all nations would bend with the burdens of new taxation for war purposes; they would be ground in poverty and misery to supply out of their labor and production the means by which these wasteful preparations for war would be continued.

### **3. SECRET TREATIES**

Another fruitful cause of war between nations has been secret treaties under which nations attempted to get advantage of their rivals and under which intrigues and private understandings of all kinds have worked for distrust, suspicion and enmity. Article XVIII of the revised covenant provides that "every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No

such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered."

Certainly no nation imbued with good faith toward its neighbors and genuinely interested in preserving the peace of the world can object to this article of the covenant. When treaties are published just as are the laws of the United States and of the several States of the Union, so that all may read and understand, the selfish aims and private advantages which have heretofore accrued to nations and to individuals through these pernicious secret treaties will become abortive.

#### 4. COMPULSORY CONFERENCES OF THE NATIONS

If any one thing has been demonstrated by the great war, it is that conference and counsel between the great nations is one of the most certain means of preventing international misunderstandings and of making war impossible. Heretofore such conference could not be held except by the voluntary action of all the parties. In 1914, before Germany precipitated war, an urgent effort was made by Sir Edward Gray to bring about a conference of the powers to consider the dispute between Austria and Serbia. Germany refused to enter that conference. She had determined to bring on the war in the execution of long-considered plans, and she knew that if she joined a conference of the powers where full and frank discussion of the issues involved would be necessary, war would be averted and her ambitions would be thwarted.

One of the most powerful arguments for the League of Nations is the requirement that the Assembly, which consists of the representatives of all the members of the League and the Council, shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the League or at such other place or places as may be decided upon. This provision is mandatory. It provides that the Assembly *shall* meet at stated intervals, and that the Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year.

Suppose that this League had been in existence in 1914, and that upon a threat of war a meeting of the Assembly or of the Council had been called. Germany would have been obliged to attend. A discussion of the dispute would immediately have fol-

lowed, and there is no doubt that the terrible war would have been prevented; that 7,000,000 dead men would be alive to-day and 20,000,000 wounded men would have been spared; that the horrors and indescribable sufferings of the civil populations of all the nations concerned would not have occurred; and that \$200,000,000,000 of treasure would not have been wasted.

It is a well-known fact, and Germany has admitted it, that Germany expected Great Britain to keep out of the war and that if she had known that Great Britain would make common cause with France, Belgium and Russia, she would never have begun the disastrous conflict. If even a conference of Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France and Russia had been held in 1914, Great Britain would have made this clear to Germany and war would have been averted. If the proposed League of Nations accomplishes nothing more than to make certain a conference of the members of the League and of the Council at stated intervals for the purpose of discussion and conference, it will have a potential influence upon the peace of the world; it will promote international cooperation instead of international antagonism and suspicions which have been the characteristic evil of the old system of secret treaties and artificial balances of power so long maintained in Europe.

If, however, after limitations of armaments have been secured and guarantees of territorial integrity and political independence have been given and secret treaties have been eliminated and conferences of the powers have been provided for, disputes between nations should arise and take on such an acute form as to threaten war, then the League covenant makes other provisions which almost certainly will result in maintaining the peace of the world. What are the provisions?

### **Arbitration**

They are, first, for arbitration of the dispute, if it is of a character which the contending nations recognize as suitable for submission to arbitration. Mr. Root's admirable definition of disputes suitable for arbitration has been inserted in the covenant; namely, "Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any interna-

tional obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach. So there can be no question as to what is arbitrable. And, second, if the matter should not be suitable for arbitration, then it shall be considered by the Council which shall make such recommendations for a settlement as it thinks just and proper, which recommendations must be made within six months after the submission of the controversy. In case either of arbitration or of inquiry by the Council, the parties affected agree that they will not go to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Council.

Without going into further details about these admirable provisions of the covenant, it is sufficient to say that they postpone war until there can be a complete discussion of the dispute either through the medium of arbitration or through the processes of inquiry and that after award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Council which makes the inquiry, neither party shall go to war until three months thereafter. During that time opportunity for mediation and conciliation is offered, and in any event it is provided that the parties affected will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the unanimous recommendations of the Council or accepts the award of the arbitration.

### **Economic Weapons**

Suppose any nation refuses to accept the award of the arbitration or the unanimous recommendation of the Council which makes the inquiry and proceeds to make war against the other party to the dispute which has accepted the award or the recommendation of the Council, or suppose any nation goes to war, as Germany did in 1914 without notice to anybody, what then happens? The offending nation will be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League and, thereupon, the other members of the League will (1) sever all trade or financial relations between the members of the League and the offending nation; (2) prohibit all intercourse between the citizens of the members of the League and citizens of the offending state; and (3) prevent all financial, commercial and personal intercourse between the citizens of the offending nation and the citizens of any other state or nation throughout the world,

whether a member of the League or not. That is what is called an economic boycott. It is a terrible weapon which no sane representatives of any nation would defy with impunity.

Let us suppose again that Germany had been faced in July, 1914, with this terrible economic boycott by Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Belgium, and the United States. Is it conceivable that she would have entered upon the mad career of war with certain defeat staring her in the face at the very outset? No nation is strong enough to resist the combined economic pressure of the greatest powers of the world and the moral influence and reprehension of the public opinion of the world. But economic pressure is not the only consequence which a recalcitrant nation would incur because if war should actually result the League Covenant provides that the Council shall recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to be used against the offending member.

### **Congress Retains War Power**

I wish to repeat, however, that the United States, as a member of the League, could not be forced into war by the recommendation of the council or by any action of the League, without its consent. The Congress of the United States would have to say whether or not such recommendation should be adopted. The entire subject would have to be submitted to the Congress by the President for appropriate action in accordance with the Constitution of the United States which vests in the Congress the sole power to declare war.

But if arbitration and inquiry fail, if mediation and conciliation prove impotent, if nine months of discussion and conferences do not cool the hot passion for war, if every agency and influence of the League are exhausted in vain, then our opponents say that war will happen, and that the League covenant therefore recognizes and sanctions war. It is possible of course that war might happen in these circumstances but it is scarcely conceivable. If it should happen, how could it be said that the League covenant sanctions war because it undertakes to prevent it any more than it can be said that the state sanctions murder because it enacts laws to prevent that crime. In either case the

evil is recognized to exist and because every effort is made to destroy it, by no exercise of the imagination can the attempt be distorted into a sanction of the offense if, after all is done, murder is committed or war occurs.

### **Monroe Doctrine Safe**

We do not abandon the Monroe Doctrine by entering the League of Nations. That policy is expressly reserved from the operations of the covenant. We cannot be made a mandatary of any foreign colony or territory except with our consent, and no amendments to the League after its adoption will be binding upon the United States unless accepted by it.

In case of attack upon the United States we can immediately repel the attack and defend ourselves. Nothing in the League covenant deprives us of that right notwithstanding the false claim of our opponents to the contrary. The League has nothing to do with immigration, naturalization or any of our internal or domestic affairs. We shall control these matters just as fully with membership in the League as without it.

I shall merely enumerate the admirable provisions of the League of Peace for progressing the solution of great moral and social problems which have long demanded the concerted attention of the civilized nations of the world:

(1) The endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men and women;

(2) The general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(3) The endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease; and

(4) The undertaking to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants under their control.

### **The Heart of Humanity**

These great problems appeal to the heart and conscience of humanity everywhere. God grant that their solution may not be prevented by the failure of the Senate of the United States to

ratify the League of Nations Covenant. Certainly the Church, that great moral and spiritual organization, is vitally concerned in holding the ground thus gained in the League of Nations.

Most of the objections to the League of Nations are based upon misconceptions or misinterpretations of its provisions, or upon exaggerated and unfounded fears as to its operations. Of course, the instrument does not suit every mind. It is of necessity a compromise of many conflicting views, just as was the Constitution of the United States. I am reminded of what the aged and venerable Benjamin Franklin said when the Constitution was signed at Philadelphia in 1788: "Whatever opinions I have of its errors I will sacrifice to the public good, and I hope that every member of the Convention who still has objections will on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility and for the sake of unanimity put his name to this instrument." Opponents of the League of Nations should adopt the advice of this great American patriot and statesman by sacrificing some of their opinions to the public good, and at least they should doubt a little of their own infallibility when they denounce in passionate terms the League of Nations Covenant.

### Opposition Due to Partisanship

I am loath to believe that the discussion of this greatest piece of constructive statesmanship, this League of Nations which concerns the very weal and woe of humanity, can be debased by partisan politics. And yet there are manifestations of partisanship in the discussions, disturbing to every man and woman who loves America and puts country above partisan considerations. We must not let partisanship nor passion sway us in this momentous hour. Never were wisdom and deliberation on the part of the people and their representatives more needed than now. One cannot be passionate and wise at the same time, even though he be a politician or a statesman. Wisdom is the product of cool deliberation and judgment. Mistakes are the product of passion and wars are the offspring of the baser instincts of human nature. A combination of passion and partisan politics will produce inevitable mistakes. God grant that all those upon whom the responsibility rests for deciding the future of the world in this twentieth century may be endowed with the patri-



otism, the wisdom and the unselfishness of those great Americans of the 18th century, who, by their dispassionate judgment, their vision, their self-sacrifice, their devotion to human liberty and to country, formulated the Constitution of the United States and brought into existence this great American Republic.

### Peril of Amendments

No amendments of the League of Nations, no vital reservations in the ratification of the League by the Senate of the United States can be effected without imminent peril to the future of the world and without prolonging the state of war. We cannot risk the undoing of all that has been accomplished by forcing another Peace Conference at Paris. Amendment of the Treaty is rejection of the Treaty. Rejection of the Treaty means a new Peace Conference and the indefinite postponement of peace. Let us not misunderstand that. Let us ratify the League of Nations as it is, representing as it does the combined wisdom of all the great men who formulated it, and then let it evolve as our Constitution has evolved, into a more perfect instrument as human wisdom and experience demonstrate that amendments may be necessary. This is the course we took with our own Constitution. We ratified it first and amended it afterwards. Let us ratify the League of Nations Covenant first and amend it afterward if necessary. That is the safe plan. The League of Nations covenant, like our own Constitution, provides the means for its amendment. By this course we shall consolidate and organize the triumph of democracy and liberty and extract from it those superlative blessings for which the human race has striven throughout the centuries.

“Let us have peace.”

Let us have a League of Nations to give the world peace!



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## DR. SHAW'S LAST MESSAGE

### Suffrage Leader Finishes Revision of League Appeal Just Before Death

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw believed wholeheartedly in a League of Nations. Her death deprived the League cause of one of its foremost champions. With her war work finished and the long struggle for woman suffrage brought to a victorious close, the League occupied first place in Dr. Shaw's heart. She had cancelled nearly all her other engagements this summer in order to regain her strength for the League ratification campaign.

At the funeral there were three short addresses by representatives of the three causes to which this great woman had devoted her life—woman suffrage, the war, and the League of Nations. Secretary William H. Short, of the League to Enforce Peace, spoke of Dr. Shaw's contribution to the League campaign.

The day before Dr. Shaw died there was received at the National Office of the League to Enforce Peace the manuscript of an impassioned plea she had addressed to the women of America. This contained the arguments she had used during the tour with President Taft and others last May when she spoke at several League state conventions. Miss Lucy B. Anthony, her secretary, says that the revision of this manuscript was Dr. Shaw's last work before the relapse that ended in her death.

### We Must Take It or Leave It

"We must look facts in the face," she says. "All humanity is one. The world is one. And no nation can suffer unless all nations suffer. No nation can prosper without all nations prospering. We have got to take facts as they are and we have got to find out the best thing we can have. The best thing that has been given us and the only thing we have before us is this League of Nations. We have no other League of Nations. We have only this one. We must take this one or no one can tell what will come. We have no midway point. We have no purgatory. We have to choose either heaven or hell. We must take it or we must reject it.

"Oh, men, we women, the mothers of the race, have given everything, have suffered everything, have sacrificed everything, and we come to you now and say: 'The time has come when we will no longer sit quietly by and bear and rear sons to die at the will of a few men. We will not endure it! We will not endure it! We demand that either you shall do something to prevent war or that we shall be permitted to try to do something ourselves.'

"Could there be any cowardice, could there be any injustice, could there be any wrong, greater than to refuse to hear the voice of a woman expressing the will of women at the peace table of the world and then for men not to provide a way by which the women of the future shall not be robbed of their sons as the women of the past have been?

"To you men we look for support. We look for your support back of your Senators, and from this day until the day when the League of Nations is accepted and ratified by the Senate of the United States, it should be the duty of every man and every woman to see to it that the Senators from their state know the will of the people; that they know that the people wills that something shall be done, even though not perfect; that there shall be a beginning, from which we shall construct something more perfect by and by; that the will of the people is that this League shall be accepted and that if, in the Senate of the United States, there are men so blinded by partisan desire for present advantage, so blinded by personal pique and narrowness of vision, that they cannot see the large problems which involve the nations of the world; then the people of the States must see to it that other men sit in the seats of the highest."

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### WHAT THEY FOUGHT FOR

#### Two Editorials from Official Publication of American Expeditionary Forces

It can be stated without fear of successful contradiction that THE STARS AND STRIPES, the weekly paper "written, edited, and published by and for the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces," faithfully expresses the prevailing sentiment of the American Army, certainly the opinion of a great majority of the men who saw foreign service. When this publication declares that the American soldiers want a League of Nations we can accept its verdict as conclusive, especially since it confirms opinions expressed by hundreds of soldiers' letters published in home newspapers.

Two editions of THE STARS AND STRIPES are before us. In the issue of June 6, under the heading "America Speaks," the leading editorial says:

#### Let Senators Give Heed

There are actually members of the United States Senate who have so far and so soon forgotten the sacrifices of these men that they make bold to say they came to France because they were sent, and that "there wasn't one in ten of them that had ever heard of a League of Nations."

Thus while many were forgetting and others with faces set were platitudinizing about "glorious death," "superb discipline" and "sublime patriotism," last Friday America herself was speaking in high and thunderous tones, in the person of the only man who could speak for her from a hillside under the guns of Mt. Valerien and overlooking the great city where the counsellors of the nations are gathered to make peace.

And what was America saying?

She was verifying her signature to the contract made with these men before they were sent out to their death.

She was rededicating herself to her spoken promise to make the world safe for democracy.

She was asserting for the hundredth time that a "concert of free peoples" in a League of Nations was the one great crowning principle for which these men were asked to fight and die.

Finally, she was declaring her purpose not to betray the dead.

Let congressmen and senators and governors and plenipotentiaries take note of America's voice from the cross-covered hillside of Suresnes.

### The League They Want

On June 13th this paper published its final edition, and once more answers the question. If you have any doubts about what our boys fought for, read this:

We know what the Prussian Guardsman means—his code, his cold courage and the blind patriotism that sent him forward, granting none the right to live but those who wore his uniform.

We know, but we cannot give that knowledge to others. But upon it we can act. We can help build a League of Nations with such sinews of war and such conscience for peace that no one will dare oppose it.

### Censorship?

Opponents of the League have charged that THE STARS AND STRIPES underwent official censorship and that its advocacy of the League was dictated from Washington. The best answer to this that we have seen is contained in the same edition of June 13th:

There was a censorship on THE STARS AND STRIPES. It was made up of some three privates and one fat sergeant. They sat on every article, and if they caught the scent of the press agent, the promotion-hunter, or the officer who wanted to explain all about what the enlisted man really thought, they threw the said contributions into the waste basket, and Rags, the credulous office bloodhound, swallowed it.

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### FOURTH OF JULY SPEAKERS

The resources of the League's Speakers' Bureau were severely taxed to satisfy requests for speakers able to discuss the League of Nations Covenant at Fourth of July celebrations. During the two days immediately preceding the Fourth, National Headquarters was in touch with some fifty speakers in an attempt to fill last-minute engagements, and in every instance it was found that they already had been drafted for Independence Day orations. This is evidence that the League of Nations was the text of speeches at local celebrations throughout the country.

At the invitation of the War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A. the National Bureau has supplied twenty League speakers for a week's special work in the camps.

MAXIMA CARTA

(Inscribed to President Wilson, Champion and Bearer  
of the Covenant of Nations.)

"How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of  
good things!"

Hail, newest charter of the hopes of Man!—  
Greater than every scroll that hitherto  
Has pledged our safety—many against few,  
Few against many. Seems it but a span  
Toward Freedom's goal what Runnymede began.  
The pact and pattern that our fathers drew,  
Incorporate here, is glorified anew,  
And seals the waiting world American.

Kings are no more, but only names of kings:  
Henceforth are crowned the States that serve the sphere.  
Come, patient Heaven, with healing in thy wings!  
Haste, Choir of Earth, with your harmonious chord!  
Madness shall yield to Order. . . . Who shall fear  
When all the world gives bond to break the unhallowed sword?  
—Robert Underwood Johnson.

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BOOK REVIEWS

"The League of Nations and Its Problems," recently published by Longmans, Green & Company, is a series of three lectures by L. F. L. Oppenheim, professor of international law in the University of Cambridge. German by birth, Professor Oppenheim became a British citizen in 1900, and is the author of an elaborate treatise on international law. The present series of lectures consists of a study of the aims of the League, its organization and legislation, and the administration of justice and mediation within the League.

"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS PROBLEMS,"  
T. J. Lawrence, Longmans, Green & Company, New York, \$2.00.

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To furnish the material required for intelligent, nonpartisan discussion of the proposed Covenant is the purpose of "The League of Nations," by Dr. Henry E. Jackson, special agent in Community Organization of the United States Bureau of Education. This book presents, in clear and simple form, the principal considerations involved in ratification of the Covenant. Valuable features of the book are: A reprint of the final text of the Covenant; a summary and explanation, by William H. Short, secretary of the League to Enforce Peace; a detailed analysis of the articles of the Covenant, in the form of questions and answers, and President Wilson's speeches delivered at New York, Boston, and Paris.

192 pages, cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50c. Published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

# HOOVER SAYS

## Without a League of Nations to Guide New Republics Europe Will Go Back to Chaos

BY

HERBERT HOOVER

United States Food Administrator

*(From the New York Times of July 28, 1919)*

There are one or two points in connection with the present treaty that need careful consideration by the American public. We need to digest the fact that we have for a century and a half been advocating democracy not only as a remedy for the internal ills of all society, but also as the only real safeguard against war. We have believed and proclaimed, in season and out, that a world in which there was a free expression and enforcement of the will of the majority was the real basis of government, was essential for the advance of civilization, and that we have proved its enormous human benefits in our own country.

We went into the war to destroy autocracy as a menace to our own and all other democracies. If we had not come into the war every inch of European soil to-day would be under autocratic government. *We have imposed our will on the world. Out of this victory has come the destruction of the four great autocracies in Germany, Russia, Turkey and Austria and the little autocracy in Greece. New democracies have sprung into being in Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Greater Serbia, Greece, Siberia, and even Germany and Austria have estab-*

lished democratic governments. Beyond these a host of small republics, such as Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and others, have sprung up, and again as a result of this great world movement the constitutions of Spain, Rumania, and even England, have made a final ascent to complete franchise and democracy, although they still maintain a symbol of royalty.

*We have been the living spring for this last century and a half from which these ideas have sprung, and we have triumphed. The world today, except for a comparatively few reactionary and communistic autocracies, is democratic, and we did it.*

A man who takes a wife and blesses the world with several infants cannot go away and leave them on the claim that there was no legal marriage.

These infant democracies all have political, social and economic problems involving their neighbors that are fraught with the most intense friction. There are no natural boundaries in Europe. Races are not compact; they blend at every border. They need railway communication and sea outlets through their neighbor's territory.

Many of these States must for the next few years struggle almost for bare bones to maintain their very existence. Every one of them is going to do its best to protect its own interests, even to the prejudice of its neighbors.

## **Governments Lack Experience**

We in America should realize that democracy, as a stable form of government as we know it, is possible only with highly educated populations and a large force of men who are capable of government. Few of the men who compose these governments have had any actual experience at governing and their populations are woefully illiterate.

They will require a generation of actual national life in peace to develop free education and skill in government.

*Unless these countries have a guiding hand and referee in their quarrels, a court of appeals for their wrongs, this Europe will go back to chaos.*



*If there is such an institution, representing the public opinion of the world, and able to exert its authority, they will grow into stability. We cannot turn back now.*

There is another point which also needs emphasis. World treaties hitherto have always been based on the theory of a balance of power. Stronger races have been set up to dominate the weaker, partly with a view to maintaining stability and to a greater degree with a view to maintaining occupations and positions for the reactionaries of the world.

The balance of power is born of armies and navies, aristocracies, autocracies, and reactionaries generally, who can find employment and domination in these institutions, and treaties founded on this basis have established stability after each great war for a shorter or longer time, but never more than a generation.

America came forward with a new idea, and we insisted upon its injection into this Peace Conference. We claimed that it was possible to set up such a piece of machinery with such authority that the balance of power could be abandoned as a relic of the middle ages. We compelled an entire construction of this treaty and every word and line in it to bend to this idea.

Outside of the League of Nations the treaty itself has many deficiencies. It represents compromises between many men and between many selfish interests, and these very compromises and deficiencies are multiplied by the many new nations that have entered upon its signature, and the very safety of the treaty itself lies in a court of appeal for the remedy of wrongs in the treaty.

### **Benefits of the League**

One thing is certain. There is no body of human beings so wise that a treaty could be made that would not develop injustice and prove to have been wrong in some particulars. As the covenant stands to-day there is a place at which redress can be found and through which the good will of the world can be enforced. The very machinery by which the treaty is to be executed, and scores of points yet to be solved, which have been referred to the League of Nations as a method of

securing more mature judgment in a less heated atmosphere, justifies the creation of the League.

To abandon the covenant now means that the treaty itself will collapse.

It would take the exposure of but a few documents at my hand to prove that I have been the most reluctant of Americans to become involved in this situation in Europe. But having gone in with our eyes open and with a determination to free ourselves and the rest of the world from the dangers that surrounded us, we cannot now pull back from the job. It is no use to hold a great revival and then go away leaving a church for continued services half done.

We have succeeded in a most extraordinary degree in imposing upon Europe the complete conviction that we are absolutely disinterested. The consequence is that there is scarcely a man, woman or child who can read in Europe that does not look to the United States as the ultimate source from which they must receive assurances and guardianship in the liberties which they have now secured after so many generations of struggle.

This is not a problem of protecting the big nations, for the few that remain can well look after themselves. What we have done is to set up a score of little democracies, and if the American people could visualize their handiwork they would insist with the same determination that they did in 1917 that our Government proceed.

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# GOODWILL

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Correspondence intended for the Editor of GOODWILL (Rev. J. H. Rushbrooke, M.A.), should be forwarded to the same address.

Copies of the Magazine will be forwarded on application to the Hon. Secretary.

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# GOODWILL

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP.

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## NEW OPPORTUNITIES.

We are not concerned to discuss the details of the Treaty signed in Versailles and already ratified by Germany. It suffices that it is signed and ratified. Whatever be its shortcomings, it is a treaty of peace, and one which for the first time contains within itself a permanent international organisation, in the form of the League of Nations, which is set up for ensuring the continuance of peace and is capable of being used to remedy much that may be wrong in the treaty itself.

Under these circumstances, it appears to us that the wisest point of view is to regard the Treaty of Versailles as a preliminary and provisional settlement arrived at amid cross-currents of feeling, but intended to be open to revision when calmer and more conciliatory sentiments become prevalent. For the moment we can only pray that such a change of feeling will soon come about; otherwise the prospect of tranquility in Europe is very gloomy in view of the conditions under which the treaty was concluded, with Germany's acquiescence given sullenly and reluctantly and under the pressure of blockade, her hand coerced whilst her heart remained estranged.

We can scarcely regard an immediate amelioration of feeling as probable—in view of the series of military trials likely to occupy the public mind of all countries during the next few months. But amid these depressing conditions our line of duty is clear. The preliminary and provisional

settlement has opened new opportunities of which Christian people must take full advantage.

First and foremost we place the opportunity of ministering to the pressing needs of our former enemies. No humane person can view with complacency the spectacle of pinched and starving children, and evidence is abundant as to the acute suffering which exists over great tracts of Central Europe. What we hear and read from the men of our army of occupation is serious enough, and the occupied regions are not those in which the shortage is gravest. Still in the New Testament stands the saying, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him"; and even those who have shrunk from accepting such an exhortation will at least feel that now the "enemy" has ceased to be such he should be fed, and that the cry of the children, who were never enemies except in a purely technical misapplication of words, should be heard and answered. We rejoice in what has already been done through the Friends' Emergency Committee, by which thousands of parcels have been sent; and we are certain that many of our readers will be prepared to help in rebinding the broken threads of international intercourse and friendship. Purely voluntary effort cannot, in the nature of the case, meet the whole immense need; now that the blockade is raised food should be poured into Central Europe on a generous scale; but it is nevertheless the case that the manifestation of

personal interest and direct Christian sympathy will do more than anything else to substitute friendship for enmity. The Christian duty is clear, and we are convinced it will be done.

Next we place the opportunity of renewed intercourse among the Christian representatives of all countries. The distinction of "belligerent" and "neutral" will soon have disappeared; and it is a clear duty to seize the earliest occasion for conference with a view to co-operation for those great supernational ends that are characteristic of our religion. The war has wrought no greater evil than the confusing of Christian and national ideals. This has taken place in some measure in all lands, and even clear-sighted Christian leaders in whose own thinking there was no such confusion have been unable to counteract the general tendency. It is imperative that the occasion be seized for the reassertion of the distinctively Christian position, and for its enforcement in every country. Within a few months the League of Nations will become a real factor in the life of the world; and its whole effectiveness for good will depend upon the atmosphere in which it does its work. Save through religion there is no hope of creating the right atmosphere. The spiritual interpretation of life and history is the one thing needful. An organisation like the World Alliance must be among the foremost agencies in witnessing for that, or it utterly fails to justify its existence. We are convinced that it will not fail; for nearly five years its members have waited with intense longing for the opportunity that now offers. Already arrangements are made for the assembling of our International Committee in September, and the Committee will, we are certain, be found ready for a bold, comprehensive, and Christian programme. There are many signs that the Committees in the various countries are keenly alive to their responsibilities in this

matter, and they have prepared the way for active work among the Churches. Dr. Nasmyth, whose services have been kindly placed at the disposal of the International Committee, is travelling through Europe and drawing together the threads of the organisation which, though its activities have been largely suspended during the war, has by no means lost its vitality. We are justified in anticipating a powerful movement of the religious forces of the civilised world in support of a revival of tolerance and good feeling.

During the next few weeks there will be many demands for clear and humane witness amidst the fierce prejudices that are slowly dying down. Lord Robert Cecil did well on his return from Paris to utter a firm protest against the persistence of the "war mind" in the House of Commons. We have read with deep concern the record of the proceedings in the Committee dealing with the Aliens Bill. They display an irresponsibility, and an incapacity to understand the true principles of international policy, which will constitute a real danger to peace even amongst our Allies, who are already disturbed by the doings of the Committee; they manifest a temper of racial hatred and persecution of individuals which is as discreditable as it is shortsighted. Nor can we view without anxiety the tone of certain sections of the popular press in which the "war mind" persists as strongly as ever, unrelieved by any trace of chivalry or idealism. We welcome the signs that religious leaders are inculcating a nobler temper; the fine sermon of the Archbishop of Canterbury in St. Paul's Cathedral on the National Thanksgiving Day was worthy of himself and of his high office, and other utterances on the same day were equally encouraging. But the better mind of the country is not yet triumphant, nor will it be until a finer courage shapes the action of reflective Christian men and women gener-

ally. The Peace of Versailles has to be shaped into a real peace; and who, with the New Testament in his hands, will be content to define peace as the mere silencing of guns and lifting of blockades, while economic strife and diplomatic hostility persist among the nations? A reconciliation has to be effected that is rooted in the heart of the peoples; and it is our duty, and should be our joy, to welcome every token of good faith on the part of those with whom we were lately at war. It is bare justice to acknowledge that the proposals which the German Finance

Minister laid before the Assembly at Weimar embody an honest purpose to fulfil the undertakings of Paris, despite the protests which his Government made against them; and the speech that accompanied the proposals was on a high level of dignity and courage. We trust that our own Ministers of State will act on the belief that in reciprocating every advance and in encouraging the growth of a new and better international temper they are representing the true mind of their countrymen.

## IS CHRISTIANITY WORTH TRYING?

By the Rev. PRINCIPAL GARVIE, M.A., D.D.

When during the war the charge was made that Christianity had failed, many speakers and writers thought it quite enough to answer that Christianity had not even been tried, seemingly not recognising that the question might be asked, Why had it not been tried by nations professedly Christian? Without now offering any judgment of the extent to which the Christian churches must be held to have been responsible for the failure to make Christian principles as effective as they might have been in politics and in diplomacy, we may now urge the duty of making as strenuous and heroic an effort as can possibly be made to give Christianity a fair trial in the ordering of the new age on which we are now entering. For there is an unique opportunity; the old order has been laid in ruins, and the new order waits the building. Public opinion and popular sentiment are still fluid. Fear is moving some to the resolve that such a calamity must not be allowed to fall on mankind again. Hope is sustaining the conviction in others that so great an evil can be prevented. Gratitude to those by whom the peril threatening this and other nations has been averted by the greatest sacrifice demands that such a sacrifice must not be allowed to have been made in vain. The call to the Christian churches is imperative and insistent to interpret wisely and to apply

bravely the Christian ideal.

Not only in the world around, but even in the Christian churches themselves, the war has produced an attitude which must be superseded by one more distinctively Christian if this task is to be accomplished. It is not easy to distinguish the moral indignation at wrong, cruelty, oppression, which conscience can approve, from the personal resentment which conscience must condemn, especially when our own interests are involved. Impartiality in pronouncing judgment and inflicting penalty is most likely to be hindered by the bias of personal feeling. That there have been frequent occasions and numerous reasons for this moral indignation, who can doubt? It would be unreasonable to expect that the consequent attitude to Germany should be easily or quickly changed. Nevertheless the Christian churches are bound to purge this indignation of all vindictiveness. So purged it will not be allowed to become a hindrance to that ultimate reconciliation of all the nations which is Christ's difficult and yet inexorable demand. For we must further recognise that this indignation, however purely moral we may make it, is a subordinate, and cannot be allowed to become the dominant, attitude for the Christian churches. God's revelation of Himself in Christ is not retributive righteousness, but redemptive grace. Judg-

ment may and does fall where mercy is scorned and withstood; but in Christ's Cross law is fulfilled and transcended in love. If the Gospel of reconciliation is not to become a mockery as between God and man, it must be presented as a reality to be sought and striven for as between man and man, nation and nation. The honesty of the church's witness, the sincerity of its worship, and the effectiveness of its work are all at stake. Is it prepared to practise what it professes to believe, that God in Christ has redeemed the world from sin and death, and is reconciling the world unto Himself; and that consequently the walls of partition among men are to be laid low? It is tragic beyond words that Socialism is more definite in its demand for human reconciliation than the Christian churches have so far shown themselves to be.

Jesus taught—and who can deny it?—that the supreme principle of religion and morality is love, that the convincing evidence of love is a readiness to forgive, and a yearning to bring men to the penitence and faith which claim the forgiveness offered, and that to effect such forgiveness even the greatest sacrifice should be made. The Cross itself is the Divine example of the human duty of love unto forgiveness in sacrifice. Forgiveness is offered that penitence and faith may be awakened: it is not withheld until sin has been abandoned. For grace is the truest reason and the best motive for the needful change in the sinner, if moral and spiritual fellowship is to be restored. Forgiveness does not exclude judgment on sin. There may be a passing-over, an overlooking of sin in moral indifference, but this is not forgiveness. In grace there is a condemnation of sin no less real because it is taken up into a compassion for the sinner which seeks to annul the sin by winning the sinner in self-judgment to separate himself morally from his sin. Nor does forgiveness necessarily mean the arrest of all the consequences which follow the sin; for the sinner's own complete recovery it may be needful that even in the consequences he may make full discovery of the nature of his sin; but forgiveness will so transform these consequences that they will be experienced as chastisements of love and not as inflictions of wrath. This should be understood and not need to be stated; but evidence abounds

that even Christian teachers have not fully learned what Christian forgiveness means.

If it be necessary that war should be waged in the spirit of retributive righteousness, although even in war there may be occasions and demands for pity and mercy, assuredly peace should be made in the spirit of redemptive grace. This President Wilson's fourteen points seemed to promise, but the conditions of peace offered to Germany fail to fulfil that promise. To criticise that document here would be wasted effort, as the whole matter will probably be settled very soon, before the Christian conscience, even if it responded at once to the challenge, could pronounce any effective judgment. What does remain, however, is the duty of trying to secure the influence of the Christian churches not only in support of the League of Nations, but still more of a policy by the League of Nations which in the carrying out of the conditions of the peace will remedy its defects, right its wrongs, and restrain the oppression which might result from it. That President Wilson has assented, however reluctantly, to the interpretation given to his fourteen points, is only intelligible if he has some ground for hoping that such a policy is practicable; and the Christian churches will be disobedient to the heavenly vision if they will not do their uttermost to secure that the spirit and intentions of these fourteen points shall govern the execution more thoroughly than the formulation of the conditions of peace. In the relation of the Allies to one another it is imperative that the spirit of reconciliation should become dominant. An aggressive, vindictive, oppressive policy to Germany will produce friction between them, the "sacred egoism" of France or Italy will estrange Great Britain and America. France may get the Saar Valley, and Italy Fiume, but what shall it profit them if they lose the cordial concord of their allies and the confidence of the neutral nations, and set a disastrous example to the new nations which are in the making? The only hope of a better future lies in a Christian execution of the terms of peace.

What will this involve? Reparation for outrage and wrong may be required, and it will be morally a gain for Germany to acknowledge and fulfil the obligation. Security against the same offence may be taken in the



disarmament of Germany; but only for this purpose, and not that Germany may itself be oppressed, a victim of the greed, or hate, or pride of any of her neighbours. Only if this be the first step towards a general reduction of armaments can it appear as anything else than hypocrisy. Whatever reparation or security be required, it must not in its nature or amount be such as to make the people of Germany hopeless of even the possibility of recovering, not its former position, for that evil dream it must abandon, but such a position among the nations as will satisfy legitimate national aspirations, and in due course restore the moral community of the nations of Europe. A nation without hope is a danger to itself and to its neighbours. Germany must be encouraged not to condone, but to condemn its past. And magnanimity in the attitude of its enemies is much more likely to bring about a change of mind than merciless severity, unless Calvary makes a less potent appeal to the conscience of mankind than Sinai. It is an urgent necessity that the Christian churches of Great Britain and America should seek as soon as possible to restore their Christian fellowship with the German churches, so that a common Christian conscience may summon all the nations to its bar for candid and yet compassionate judgment. Who more than Christians should be the pioneers in the rough and even dangerous paths of world-wide reconciliation? Jesus did not make it hard for sinners to come to Him, as did the Pharisees, and the Christian churches of this country, conscious of their own failure, fully to interpret the word of Christ, must not take an ungenerous, censorious, Pharisaic attitude to the churches of Germany. The bruised reed must not be broken, and the smoking flax must not be

quenched of any better mood in Germany. It is not for the churches to be led by the nation, but theirs to lead the nation in the ways of enduring peace.

The churches are undergoing a crucial test of the reality of the grace they proclaim and the sincerity of the faith they offer. The future of the world depends on how they stand the test. Racial conflicts, as between black and white in America and Africa, yellow and white in Australia and Asia, threaten. Class conflicts are at our very door. How can the churches speak the word of reconciliation to Capital and Labour, and bid them in Christ's name harmonise their opposed interests, if they acquiesce in the continued antagonisms of nations to one another? How can Europe give an example of the ways of peaceful progress to other continents if it has not Christianity enough to appease its own enmities? It is impossible to encourage the spirit of vindictiveness and the policy of severity in relation to Germany without increasing the difficulty of dealing with the many other problems of reconciliation which the world presents today; the world's hope lies in its evangelisation, but what kind of a Gospel is the church going to send abroad if it does not practise the principles of the Gospel at home? International labour will have no use for churches which do not constantly and consistently maintain the supernatural authority of Christian universalism, the higher claim over patriotism of loyalty to the Kingdom of God. It may be that more will be done for the healing of the wounds of the nations by socialism than by Christianity. Would that the churches all knew that this is the day of their visitation, that the Master Himself is standing and knocking! Will they hear His voice and open to Him?



## THE NEW ERA AND THE WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES.

By the Rev. SIDNEY L. GULICK.

The World Alliance was born on the day when the Great War started. Its activities have been strictly conditioned and limited by the prolonged terrible strife.

But the war is over. Peace is signed. A League of Nations has been established. A New Era has been begun. New relations are springing up between nations and

governments. Far-reaching consequences are beginning to modify the life of the whole world—in its commerce, its finances, its military and naval programmes.

What now are to be the effects of the new conditions on the religious and ecclesiastical life of the world? More particularly, what should be the programme of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches? With the establishment of the League of Nations, with its principles and methods for solving international difficulties by rational methods seeking for justice in place of the brutal methods of war, is there need any longer for such an organisation as the World Alliance? Has not the goal for which it has been striving—a League of Nations and thus a Governed World—a world in which justice and right for all alike are guaranteed by the united power of all—has not its chief goal been attained and thus its reason for being ceased?

Such questions are quite natural, yet a little consideration will show that they fail to touch the real situation. Only now, with the ending of the war and the beginning of the new era, does the World Alliance have free opportunity to seek its real end—International Friendship through the activity of the churches. The need is incalculable. The war has caused deep-seated and bitter animosities. Times of storm and stress in the relations even of the allied nations lie ahead, through the inevitable clash of their rival economic and industrial interests. There is serious danger that the principles of justice and fair-play may not find full application in the attitude of nation to nation, whether of the late allies or of the belligerents. Surely there is pressing need for the promotion of reconciliation and the cultivation of friendship between the nations.

Moreover, the League of Nations, like every other instrument of society, is not something that will run itself—an automatic machine that will infallibly turn out justice and fair-dealing between nations. It will work only in proportion as the spirit of goodwill and the passion for justice dominate the principal nations that control it. It may be used by selfish men and nations for selfish ends. In that case, it will prove to be a mighty engine of tyranny that will

breed ill-will through injustice, and in the end be the cause of fresh intrigues and, it may be, of another world war.

The success of the League of Nations for the decades ahead will depend on the success with which the international viewpoint, the sense of justice and the desire for fair-play, are cultivated among the nations. If they become the dominant forces in international politics, the League will succeed. If they are ignored, if they fail to grip the life of the people, if, in their place, national and racial ambitions, passions and prejudices, predominate, then the League will fail and the world will again be overwhelmed with tragedy.

*Here then stands revealed the special sphere of work and the unique objective of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. It seeks to cultivate simultaneously and co-operatively in all the principal countries of the world the Christian Intelligence and Conscience in international affairs. It strives to overcome the narrow nationalistic ambitions, passions and prejudices, of the "natural man," and to substitute for them the Christian ideals of brotherhood, righteousness and goodwill. This work it seeks to do through the agency of the Church in every land. For the Church is the divinely established and unique institution for the education of the peoples in the ideals of truth and righteousness and brotherhood. It is the unique function of the Church to instruct the mind, enlighten the conscience, and strengthen the wills of men for the enthronement of Christ and the establishment on earth of His Kingdom.*

It is important, however, that this purpose and work of the World Alliance should be conceived and expressed as definitely as possible. This is essential to success. How, for instance, is the movement to be properly organised nationally and internationally? How are these organisations to be related? And how are they to work individually in their respective spheres and also jointly?

The ideal would require that each Church in each land should be the immediate agent for the great task in its own constituency. This, however, is impracticable at present. Even the majority of the leaders in the Churches are not yet awake to the situation and the need. It is this condition of inter-

national blindness and apathy even among Christians that necessitated the existence of a special organisation of those who do see the need and desire to meet it.

As at present organised, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches is composed of an International Committee and of ten National Councils. The International Committee is composed of sixty-one persons representing the ten National Councils. The War has thus far rendered impossible a full meeting of this Committee. Plans, however, are under way for holding one as soon as practicable.

In the meantime there will be advantage in seeking to state as concretely as possible the nature of the organisation and the work which the World Alliance should be planning to do.

### I. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The chief functions of the International Committee should doubtless be

(a) To define the general principles and the programme of the movement as an international matter.

(b) To provide for the establishment of National Councils in lands where they have not yet been established. For this purpose a competent International Organiser—or travelling Secretary—will be essential.

(c) To keep the National Councils in mutual touch, ensuring that each may gain the inspiration and the wisdom to be derived from full knowledge of what is being done in other lands.

(d) To arrange for international gatherings more or less general, for educational and inspirational purposes.

(e) To keep constant watch on the international situation and the public acts of the League of Nations, giving accurate information in regard to the same to the National Councils, with a view to its wide dissemination in each land so as to build up in every land intelligent, accurate and efficient public opinion.

For this last purpose, the International Committee will no doubt have to employ competent secretaries and also to publish some kind of a bulletin or magazine.

### II. THE NATIONAL COUNCILS.

The organisation of the National Councils in each land will have to vary to meet the varying customs and popular psychology of each land. Efficiency in reaching and creating Christian public opinion and in making that opinion a force in controlling the international political life and activities of that nation should be the guiding principle. A form of organisation effective in America would not be likely to succeed in England—or indeed in any other land. In general terms, however, the following principles and objectives should govern the formation and activities of National Councils:—

(a) The education of all Christians in all the Churches in regard to the League of Nations—its spirit and purposes, its constitution and methods of procedure, its powers and their limitations. The purpose of this education should be the creation in each country of an intelligent and effective public opinion in support of the League, so that the nation will be ready as a matter of course to do its part in supporting the League financially and also with military and naval forces, if necessary, and also so that in cases of international difficulty all good citizens will spontaneously and as a matter of course turn to the League and its courts for the settlement of the difficulty instead of thinking or talking of war.

(b) The preparation and publication for this end of suitable courses of study for the various classes and ages of the Church membership.

(c) The systematic report, to all the Church organisations and especially to the religious press, of the doings and decisions of the League of Nations—as reported by the International Committee—in order that all the Christians in each land may be kept duly informed of every vital step forward or backward in the world-wide establishment of the Kingdom of God.

(d) The careful observation by each National Council of the acts and policies of its own land, appraising them in the light of the Christian ideal, seeking to prevent legislation that will surely be regarded as unfriendly by other nations and to promote legislation that will on the contrary beget feelings of appreciation and goodwill.

Activities under this head will be highly important. They are moreover activities that each National Council must take for itself. This is not a matter that the International Committee or any foreign National Council should attempt to touch. The mistreatment, for instance, of Africans or Chinese in French colonies are matters for their own National Councils to deal with, just as the mistreatment of Japanese and Chinese in America is a matter exclusively for the American Council to deal with.

In order to carry out these objectives effectively, each National Council will seek naturally,

(e) To establish an efficient Executive Committee that will be constantly on the alert to do the work assigned it. The character, energy and initiative of the Executive Committee, and especially of the Executive Secretary, will determine whether or not the National Council will really unify and guide the Christian forces of that land in their international responsibilities.

(f) To link together for real and effective service the various ecclesiastical and non-official Christian bodies of the land.

(g) To enlist the moral and financial support of tens of thousands of private individuals.

Success in this last item will be a fairly accurate test of the success of the entire movement in each land, at least for many years to come.

(h) To secure the endorsement of appropriate resolutions on matters of international policy by Christians in all the churches,

which resolutions may be used in influencing legislators.

### III. IMPORTANT POSTULATES AND PRINCIPLES.

Underlying this entire movement are certain fundamental postulates and principles which it will be well for each National Council to impress just so far as possible on the membership of the churches.

(a) The Kingdom of God is an ideal that applies to the international and inter-racial as well as to the social relations of men. Righteousness, justice, honour, service, brotherhood, are matters for international as well as for individual observance. "A League of Nations is not a mere political expedient; it is rather the political expression of the Kingdom of God on earth."

(b) Responsibility for the establishment and maintenance of this Kingdom of God in international and inter-racial relations rests not only on the governments of the nations but especially on the Christian bodies and individuals that have determining influence on the policies and activities of those governments. It is the duty of Christians as individuals and in their ecclesiastical relations to strive to establish a Christian world-order.

(c) The machinery of the rising International Organisation—the League of Nations—needs to be permeated and continuously controlled by the spirit and ideals of Christian Internationalism. The activities of the League of Nations should therefore be constantly subjected to the tests of Christian international ideals.

## Further Important Declarations by Statesmen and others.

### (157.) BRITISH PRIME MINISTER DEFENDS HIS POLICY.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, APRIL 16TH, 1919.\*

In rising to move the adjournment of the House, I shall ask the indulgence of members to make some observations about the present situation. My first impulse when I returned from the Peace Conference was to wait for the much-advertised criticism I had been told to expect. But diligent enquiries proved

\*From the *Manchester Guardian*, April 17th, 1919.

to me that this was not forthcoming, and the reason assigned in particular quarters is rather a remarkable one—that I must not expect criticism until, at any rate, the House has been informed as to what the delegates are doing. Coming from such quarters, I should not have thought that facts could have been regarded as the slightest basis for any

criticisms. I am fully aware that there is a good deal of impatience in the desire for peace—some of it natural impatience, perhaps; some of it, perhaps, calculated impatience. I propose to address myself to the real, sincere, and honest impatience which is felt throughout all lands.

The task with which the Peace delegates have been confronted is indeed a gigantic one. No conference that has ever assembled in the history of the world has been confronted with problems of such variety, of such complexity, of such magnitude, and of such gravity. The Conference of Vienna was the nearest approach to it. You had then to settle the affairs of Europe. It took eleven months. But the problems of the Conference of Vienna, grave as they were, sink into insignificance as compared with those that we have attempted to settle at the Paris Conference.

It is not one continent that is engaged. Every continent is affected. With very few exceptions, every country in Europe has been in this war. Every country in Asia is affected by the war except Tibet and Afghanistan. There is not a square mile of Africa that has not been engaged in the war in one way or another. Almost the whole of the nations of America are in the war, and the far islands of the Southern Seas. There are islands which have been captured, and there are hundreds of thousands of men who have come to fight in this great world-struggle. There has never been in the whole history of this globe anything to compare with it. Ten new States have sprung into existence, some of them independent, some of them semi-independent, some of them, maybe, protectorates; and at any rate, although we may not define their boundaries, we must give indications of them. The boundaries of fourteen countries have to be recast. That will give some idea of the difficulties, purely of a technical character, which have engaged our attention.

But there are problems, equally great and equally important, not of a territorial character but all affecting the peace of the world, all affecting the wellbeing of man, all affecting the destinies of the human race, and every one of them of a character where, if you make blunders, humanity may have to pay—armaments, economic questions that are the life of commerce and trade, questions of international waterways, railways, questions of indemnities—not an easy one, not one that can be settled by telegrams—international arrangements for labour, practically never attempted before. Thanks very largely to the skill and real statesmanship displayed by Mr. Barnes and, let me say, thanks also to the assistance he has had from some hon. and right hon. gentlemen opposite and from others in the trade union movement, a great world-scheme has been adopted. And there is that great organisation—an experiment, but an experiment on which the whole hope of the world for peace hangs—the Society of Nations.

All of them and each of them separately would occupy months, and a blunder might precipitate universal war—maybe near, maybe distant,—and all of them almost every nation on earth is engaged in considering. We were justified in taking some time. In fact, I do not mind saying that it would have been imperative in some respects that we should take more time but for one fact, and that is that we are setting up a machinery that is capable of readjusting and correcting possible mistakes. And that is why the League of Nations, instead of wasting time, has saved time at the Conference. And we had to work long and late, because whilst we were trying to build we saw in many lands the foundations of society tumbling into dust, and we had to make haste. I venture to say that no body of men have worked harder, and no body of men ever worked in better harmony. I am doubtful whether any body of men with a difficult task have worked under greater difficulties and with greater determination. Stones rattling on the roof, coming crashing through the windows, and sometimes wild men screaming through the keyholes. I have come back to say a few things, and I mean to say them.

[Mr. Jack Jones (Lab.—Silvertown): Say them to your friends.]

I agree, and when enormous issues are depending upon it you require calm deliberation. I ask it for the rest of the journey, for the journey is not at an end. It is full of peril—perils for this country, perils for all lands, perils for the peoples throughout the world. I beg that at any rate the men who are doing their best should be left in peace to do it, or that other men should be sent there.

These are merely artificial difficulties. They are difficulties that are rather trying to the temper than to the judgment. But there are intrinsic difficulties of an extraordinary character. We are dealing with a multitude of nations, most of them with a problem of its own, each and every one of them with a different point of view, even when the problems are common, looking from a different angle at questions, sometimes perhaps with a different interest. And it requires all the tact, all the patience, all the skill that we can command to prevent the differences of the peoples from developing into conflicting feelings. I want the House to bear that in mind and believe we have surmounted these difficulties, but it has not been easy.

There are questions which have almost imperilled the peace of Europe while we were sitting there. I should like to put a large number of members of this House through an examination. How many hon. members of the House have ever heard of Teschen? I do not mind saying I had never heard of it, but Teschen very nearly produced an angry conflict between two Allied States. We are trying to settle the affairs of Teschen, and there are many questions of that kind where commissions have to be sent, and where we have got to smooth difficulties in order to enable us to get on with the bigger

problem of the war. These questions are important. They are questions of small States. It was a quarrel over small States that made a great war.

The difficulties of the Balkans, I agree, have disturbed Europe and have created an atmosphere of unrest which began the trouble and aroused the military temper. I am not at all sure that they did not incite the blood-lust, and one of the features of the present situation is that, owing to the break-up of great Empires, Central Europe is being balkanised into small States. The greatest care must be taken lest the cause of future unrest be created by the settlement which we make.

Now, I have given you some of the difficulties with which we are confronted. In addition to that, we have had before us the complete break-up of three ancient empires—Russia, Turkey, Austria. I should like, before I come to the other work we have done, to say a few words about Russia. I have read and I have heard of very simple remedies proposed on both sides. Some say "Use force"; some say "Make peace." It is not so easy as all that. It is one of the most complex problems ever dealt with by any body of men. Our difficulty is that there is no Russia. Siberia has broken off—the Don, one of the richest provinces of Russia, the Caucasus, and then there is some organisation controlling Central Russia.

But there is no body who can say that it is a *de facto* Government for the whole of Russia; and apart from any question of whether you could in any circumstances recognise Bolshevism, you could not recognise it as the *de facto* Government of Russia, because it is not, and there is no other Government which you could call a *de facto* Government of Russia. You have got to face a country in a state of complete chaos, confusion and anarchy. There is no authority which extends over the whole area. Boundaries and provinces advance and boundaries recede, and one day a large territory is governed by one authority and the next day another. It is just like a volcano which is still in fierce eruption, and the best you can do is to provide security for those who are dwelling on its remotest and most accessible slopes, and arrest the devastating flow of the lava so as not to scorch other lands. It is very easy to say about Russia, "Why don't you do something?" I should like to ask each man consecutively, what would he have done? To begin with, let me say at once there is no question of recognition. It has never been even discussed, never proposed, for the reasons I have given. I could give two or three more. First of all, there is no Government representing the whole of Russia. The Bolshevik Government has committed crimes against Allied subjects which make it impossible to recognise it even as a civilised Government, if it be one. And the third reason is, that at this very moment they are attacking our friends in Russia.

What is the alternative? Does anyone propose military intervention? Now I want to examine that

carefully and candidly. Before—I won't say before the House; I don't believe the House would ever commit itself to that—before any individual commits his conscience to such an enterprise, I want him to realise what it means. First of all, there is the fundamental principle of all foreign policy of this country, and a very sound one, that you should never interfere with the internal affairs of another country, however badly governed. And whether Russia is Tsarist or Republican, whether it is Menshevik or Bolshevik, whether it is reactionary or revolutionary, whether it follows one set of men or follows another, that is a matter for the Russian people themselves, and we cannot interfere according to any canon of government to impose any form of government upon another people, however bad we may consider its present form of government. The people of the country thoroughly disapproved of the Tsarist Government, its principles, its methods, its corruption, its oppression, but it was none of our business to interfere. It was a question for Russia to decide for itself.

We disagree—and I believe I may say for every man in the House—we disagree fundamentally with all the principles upon which the present Russian experiment is based. We deplore its horrible consequences—starvation, bloodshed, confusion, ruin, horror. That does not justify us in committing this country to a gigantic military enterprise in order to improve conditions in Russia.

Let me speak in all solemnity and with a great sense of responsibility. Russia is a country which is very easy to invade but very difficult to conquer. It has never been conquered by a foreign force, although it has been successfully invaded many a time. It is a country which it is easy to get into, but very difficult to get out of. You have only got to look at what happened within the last few years to the Germans. They rolled up the Russian armies. They captured millions of Russian prisoners. They took the Russian guns. Russia had no munitions. There was barely anyone to resist them. At last the Russian armies fled, leaving the guns in the field. There was no Russian army; neither M. Kerensky nor any of his successors could get together 1,000 disciplined men. And yet the Germans to the last moment, whilst their own front was broken in France, whilst their country was menaced with invasion, whilst they themselves were being overwhelmed with disaster, kept one million men in Russia. Why? They entangled themselves in the morass and could not get out of it.

Let that be a warning. At that time the Bolshevik army was comparatively peaceful. If we conquered Russia—and we could conquer Russia—you would be surprised what the military advice given us was as to the number of men that would be required, and I would like to know where they are to come from. But supposing you got them, and gathered together an overwhelming army, and conquered Russia, what manner of Government are

you going to set up there? You must set up a Government which the people want. Otherwise it would be an outrage on all the principles for which we fought in the war. If it is a Government we don't like, are we to force Russia to get a Government we do like?

There is another consideration. We have an army of occupation now, and I know what it costs. You cannot immediately leave Russia until you have restored order. It will take a long time to restore order in Russia. It is not a highly organised community. Has anyone reckoned up what an army of occupation would cost in Russia? The Rhine is accessible. It is not so very far from Britain. But Russia, with its long lines of communications, with its deficient transport, with its inadequate resources! I have read criticisms in this House where the House showed a natural desire to control expenses in this country over railways and canals. Sir Eric Geddes, with all his energy, could not in a quarter of a century spend as much money on railways and canals in Britain as would be spent in a single year on a military enterprise in Russia. I share the horror of all the Bolshevik teaching, but I would rather have Russia Bolshevik until she sees her way out of that difficulty than see Britain bankrupt. That is the shortest road to Bolshevism in Britain. Now I only want to put it—I have put it quite frankly to the House—I should not be doing my duty unless I gave quite frankly to this House my earnest conviction that to attempt military intervention in Russia would be the greatest act of stupidity that any Government could possibly do.

Then I am told, "If that is the case, why do you support Koltchak and Denikin?" I will tell the House with the same frankness that I put other cases. When the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was signed there was a large proportion of the population in Russia that would have neither hand nor part in that shameful act, and they revolted against the Government that signed it. And let me say this—that the great armies which at our instigation, and largely no doubt at our expense, were raised were a sound military policy, an absolutely sound policy. But what happened? Had it not been for the organisations that were improvised, the Germans would have secured all the resources, which would have enabled them to break the blockade. They would have got through to the grain of the Don and the minerals of the Urals. In fact, they could have been supplied with almost every commodity of which four or five years of rigid blockade had deprived them, of things which were essential to them for the prolongation of the war.

Our vast eastern front was reconstructed not on the Vistula, but at a point which lured the German army on to their destruction, and when they got there deprived them of all the things they had set out to seize. What happened? Bolshevism threatened to impose by force of arms its dominion on the populations that were organised at our request,

and they rebelled against it. If after they had served their purpose, as soon as they had taken all the risk, we had said: "Thank you; we are exceedingly obliged to you; you have served our purpose and we need you no longer, and now we leave the Bolsheviks to cut your throats"—it would have been mean and thoroughly unworthy of a great land. As long as they stand there with the evident support of the populations—because wherever the populations are not behind them, or indifferent, or perhaps unfriendly, Bolshevism has failed—we must remember that we asked them to take this step and promised to support them. By taking this stand they have contributed to the triumph of the Allies.

It is our business to stand by our friends in Russia. Therefore we are supporting them, because every Russian who knows Russia has advised us that it is not by sending troops that Russia is to be redeemed. She must be redeemed by her own sons. All they ask is that inasmuch as the Bolsheviks have carried all the arsenals of Russia they should be supplied with the necessary arms to enable them to fight for their own protection and freedom in a land where Bolshevism is antipathetic to the feelings of the population. Therefore I do not in the least regard it as a departure from the fundamental policy of Great Britain not to interfere in the internal affairs of any land that we should support General Denikin, Admiral Koltchak, and General Khartoff. They were not asking for troops in any number.

[An Hon. Member: What about food?]

So far as food is concerned, I think they are very well off. The Don is a very rich country, and the Crimea is a very rich country, and we have not heard of any scarcity.

The next in our policy is to arrest the flow of the lava—that is, to prevent the forcible eruption of Bolshevism into Allied lands. For that reason we are organising all the forces of the Allied countries bordering on Bolshevik territories from the Baltic to the Black Sea—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania. There is no doubt that the populations are anti-Bolshevik. I had the privilege of meeting M. Paderewski the other day, and he told me that the Polish population were bitterly anti-Bolshevik. The Czecho-Slovak statesmen are a very able body of men, and they told me exactly the same, and the same observation applied to Rumania. If Bolshevism attacks any of our allies it is our business to defend. For that purpose we are supplying those countries with the equipment to set up a real barrier against invasion by force of arms. The Bolsheviks may menace or may not, but whether they do or not we must be ready for any attempt to overrun Europe by force. That is our policy.

But we do want peace in Russia. The world will not be pacified as long as Russia is torn and rent by civil war. We made one effort—I make no apology for it,—an effort to make peace amongst the warring sections—not by recognising them but by in-

ducing them to come together with a view to setting up some authority which would be acceptable to the whole of the Russian people, and which the Allies would recognise as the Government of that great people. We insisted that it was necessary that they should cease fighting before this could be tried. With one accord, I regret to say, they refused to accede to this essential condition, and therefore the attempt was not crowned with success. On the contrary, they suggested that we were doing it purely because our friends were getting the worst of it. That fact showed of itself that the time had not yet arrived for securing the pacification of Russia by means of any outside pressure.

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But the time is not yet. We must have patience

and we must have faith. We are dealing with a nation which, after being misgoverned for centuries, has been defeated and trampled to the ground, largely through the corruption, inefficiency, and treachery of its own Government. Its losses have been colossal. All that largely accounts for the real frenzy which seized upon a great people, and that is why the nation which has gone through untold horrors has abandoned itself for the moment to fantastic and lunatic experiments. But there are unmistakable signs that Russia is emerging from the fever, and when the time comes that she is once more sane, calm, and normal we shall make peace in Russia. And until we make peace in Russia it is idle to say that the world is at peace.

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## (158.) PRESIDENT WILSON ON ITALIAN CLAIMS.

OFFICIAL STATEMENT ISSUED APRIL 23RD, 1919.\*

In view of the capital importance of the questions affected, and in order to throw all possible light upon what is involved in their settlement, I hope that the following statement will contribute to the final formation of opinion, and to a satisfactory solution.

When Italy entered the war she entered upon the basis of a definite but private understanding with Great Britain and France, now known as the Pact of London. Since that time the whole face of circumstances has been altered.

Many other Powers, great and small, have entered the struggle with no knowledge of that private understanding. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, then the enemy of Europe and at whose expense the Pact of London was to be kept in the event of victory, has gone to pieces and no longer exists.

Not only that. The several parts of that empire, it is now agreed by Italy and all her associates, are to be erected into independent States and associated in a League of Nations, not with those who were recently our enemies, but with Italy herself and the Powers that stood with Italy in the great war for liberty.

We are to establish their liberty as well as our own. They are to be among the smaller States whose interests are henceforth to be as scrupulously safeguarded as the interests of the most powerful States.

The war was ended, moreover, by proposing to Germany an armistice and peace which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles which would set up a new order of right and justice.

\*From the *Daily Chronicle*, April 24th, 1919.

Upon those principles the peace with Germany has been not only conceived, but formulated. Upon those principles it will be executed.

We cannot ask the great body of Powers to propose and effect peace with Austria, and establish a new basis of independence and right in the States which originally constituted the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the States of the Balkan group, on principles of another kind. We must apply the same principles to the settlement of Europe in those quarters that we have applied in the peace with Germany.

It was upon the explicit avowal of those principles that the initiative for peace was taken. It is upon them that the whole structure of peace must rest.

If those principles are to be adhered to, Fiume must serve as the outlet and inlet of the commerce not of Italy, but of the lands to the north and north-east of that port—Hungary, Bohemia, Rumania, and the States of the new Jugo-Slav group.

To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we had deliberately put the port, upon which all these countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean, in the hands of a Power of which it did not form an integral part, and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the port must serve.

It is for that reason, no doubt, that Fiume was not included in the Pact of London, but was there definitely assigned to the Croatsians.

And the reason why the line of the Pact of London swept about many of the islands of the eastern coast of the Adriatic and around the portion of the Dal-



matian coast, which lies most open to that sea, was not only that here and there on those islands, and here and there on that coast, there are bodies of people of Italian blood and connection, but also, and no doubt chiefly, because it was felt that it was necessary for Italy to have a foothold amidst the channels of the Eastern Adriatic in order that she might make her own coasts safe against the naval aggression of Austria-Hungary.

But Austria-Hungary no longer exists. It is proposed that the fortifications which the Austrian Government constructed there shall be razed and permanently destroyed. It is part, also, of the new plan of European order which centres in the League of Nations that the new States erected there shall accept a limitation of armaments which puts aggression out of the question.

There can be no fear of the unfair treatment of groups of Italian people there, because adequate guarantees will be given, under international sanction, of the equal and equitable treatment of all racial or national minorities.

In brief, every question associated with this settlement wears a new aspect—a new aspect given it by the very victory for right for which Italy has made the supreme sacrifice of blood and treasure. Italy, along with the four other Great Powers, has become one of the chief trustees of the new order which she has played so honourable a part in establishing.

And on the north and north-east her natural frontiers are completely restored, along the whole sweep of the Alps from north-west to south-east to the very end of the Istrian Peninsula, including all the great watershed within which Trieste and Pola lie, and all the fair regions whose face nature has turned towards the great peninsula upon which the historic life of the Latin people has been worked out through centuries of famous story, ever since Rome was first set up on her seven hills.

Her ancient unity is restored. Her lines are extended to the great walls which are her natural

defence. It is within her choice to be surrounded by friends; to exhibit to the newly liberated peoples across the Adriatic that noblest quality of greatness, magnanimity, friendly generosity, the preference of justice over interests.

The nations associated with her, the nations that know nothing of the Pact of London or of any other special understanding that lies at the beginning of this great struggle, and who have made their supreme sacrifice, also in the interest, not of national advantage or defence, but of the settled peace of the world, now unite with her older associates in urging her to assume a leadership which cannot be mistaken in the new order of Europe.

America is Italy's friend. Her people are drawn, millions strong, from Italy's own fair countrysides. She is linked in blood as well as in affection with the Italian people.

Such ties can never be broken, and America was privileged, by the generous commission of her associates in the war, to initiate the peace we are about to consummate—to initiate it upon terms she had herself formulated and in which I was her spokesman. The compulsion is upon her to square every decision she takes a part in with those principles.

She can do nothing else. She trusts Italy, and in her trust believes that Italy will ask nothing of her that cannot be made unmistakably consistent with those sacred obligations.

Interest is not now in question, but the rights of peoples, of States new and old, of liberated peoples and peoples whose rulers have never accounted them worthy of rights; above all, the right of the world to peace and to such settlements of interest as shall make peace secure.

These, and these only, are the principles for which America has fought. These, and these only, are the principles upon which she can consent to make peace. Only on these principles, she hopes and believes, will the people of Italy ask her to make peace.

## (159.) SIGNOR ORLANDO'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON

ISSUED ON THURSDAY, APRIL 24TH, 1919.\*

Yesterday, just at the time when the assembled Italian Delegation was discussing a counter-proposal which had been sent in by the British Prime Minister, and which had as its object to reconcile the contradictory tendencies which had revealed themselves regarding Italy's territorial aspirations, the Paris newspapers published a message from the President of the United States, in which the latter expressed his own ideas on the subject of the gravest of the problems submitted to the judgment of the Conference.

\*From the *Daily Chronicle*, April 25th, 1919.

The practice of addressing oneself directly to peoples assuredly constitutes an innovation in international relations. I do not mean to complain of that, but I take note of it in order in my turn to follow this example, since this new system, without any doubt, tends to give the peoples a wider participation in international questions, and I personally have always been of opinion that such participation was a sign of the new times.

Nevertheless, if such appeals are to be regarded as addressed to the peoples as apart from the Governments representing them—and I will even say

almost against those Governments—I cannot but feel great regret at the thought that this procedure, hitherto employed only in the case of enemy Governments, is to-day, for the first time, applied to a Government which has been, is, and means loyally to remain the friend of the great American Republic—namely, the Italian Government.

I may further complain that such a message, addressed to the people, should have been published at the very moment when the Allied and Associated Powers were negotiating with the Italian Government—that is to say, with that same Government whose assistance had been sought and appreciated in numerous and grave questions, which have been treated hitherto in close and complete solidarity.

But I shall, above all, have reason to complain if the declarations in the Presidential message were intended to draw a distinction between the Italian Government and the Italian people, since in that case one would be going so far as to ignore and to deny the high degree of civilisation which the Italian people has attained in the forms of a democratic and Liberal regime, in which it yields place to no other people in the world.

To draw, so to speak, a distinction between the Italian Government and the Italian people would be to imply that that great free people was capable of submitting to the yoke of a will that was not its own, and I shall be constrained to protest vigorously against suppositions so unjustifiably offensive to my country.

But to come to the contents of the Presidential message. It is entirely devoted to showing that the Italian claims outside certain limits laid down in the message violate the principles upon which the new regime of liberty and justice between the peoples should be founded.

Those principles I have never denied, and President Wilson will do me the justice to acknowledge that in the long conversations we have had I have never appealed to anything but the force of the reason and justice on which I have always believed, and still believe, that Italy's aspirations are firmly based.

I have not been so fortunate as to convince him. I deplore it sincerely, but President Wilson himself had the goodness to admit, in the course of our conversations, that truth and justice are the monopoly of no one, and that all men are liable to err; and I may add that error is all the easier the more complex are the problems to which principles are applied.

Humanity is something so immense, the problems raised by the life of peoples are so infinitely complex, that nobody can believe he has found in any fixed number of propositions a means of solving them as simple and as certain as if it were a case of determining the dimensions, volume, and weight of bodies with the various units of measurement.

When I say that more than once the Conference has found itself brought to a radical change of sentiment in cases where there has been a question of

applying those principles, I do not think that I am showing any lack of deference towards that august assembly.

On the contrary, such changes were and are a part of all human judgment. I merely mean that experience brought out all the difficulties encountered in the application of an abstract principle of nature to concrete cases of infinite complexity and variety. And so, with all deference, but with all firmness, I must regard the way in which President Wilson in his message applies his principles to the Italian claims as altogether unjustifiable.

It is impossible for me, in a document of this kind, to repeat the detailed demonstrations which have been produced in such great abundance. I will simply say that assertions such as that the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire involves a reduction of Italy's aspirations will not be received without reserve. I think I may even be permitted to believe the contrary—that is to say, that the moment when all the heterogeneous peoples who constituted the said Empire are seeking to organise themselves according to their ethnical and natural affinities, the essential problem presented by the Italian claims can and ought to be completely solved.

Now the problem is the problem of the Adriatic, in which are summed up the whole rights of Italy, ancient and modern, the whole of the martyrdom she has suffered through the centuries, and all the benefits which she is destined to confer on the great international community.

The Presidential message affirms that with the concessions which it mentions Italy would be extended to the walls of the Alps, which are her natural defence. This recognition is of great importance, provided the left flank of that wall is not left open, and that Monte Nevoso, which divides the waters flowing towards the Black Sea from those falling into the Mediterranean, is included in Italy's right to such a line.

This is the mountain that the Latins themselves always called "Limes Italicus" from the time when the true configuration of Italy was realised in the sentiment and the conscience of the people. Without that protection a dangerous breach would remain yawning in that admirable natural barrier, the Alps, and it would mean the breaking off of that unquestionable political, historical, and economic unity which the peninsula of Istria forms.

And I further think that he who can proudly claim having proclaimed to the world the free rights of peoples to self-determination is the very one who is bound to recognise that right in the case of Fiume, an ancient Italian city which proclaimed its Italian affinity before the Italian ships were anywhere near it, an excellent example of national consciousness retained for centuries.

To deny that right simply for the reason that it is a case of a small community would be to admit that the criterion of justice to different peoples varies according to their territorial extent. And if the

denial of this right is to be based on the international character of the port, have we not the cases of Antwerp, Genoa, Rotterdam—international ports serving as outlets for the most diverse peoples and regions without their having to pay dearly for this privilege by the stifling of their national conscience?

And can one describe as excessive Italy's aspiration towards the coast of Dalmatia, that bulwark of Italy which throughout the centuries Roman genius and Venetian activity made noble and great, and whose Italianism, defying for a whole century all sorts of implacable persecutions, to-day shares the same tremors of patriotism as the Italian people?

With regard to Poland, the principle is proclaimed that rights cannot be created by denationalisation secured by violence and arbitrariness. Why not apply the same principle to Dalmatia?

And should we wish to give this rapid synthesis of our good national right the support of cold statistical particulars, I think I can well affirm that among all the varied national reconstitutions which the Peace Conference has already taken or will take in hand, not one of the reconstituted peoples would count within its new frontiers a number of individuals of another race relatively fewer than the number which would be assigned to Italy. Why should it, be just

the Italian aspirations which are to be suspected of Imperialist cupidity?

In spite of all these reasonings the history of these negotiations will show that the firmness which the Italian delegation has found necessary has throughout been combined with a great spirit of conciliation in the search of that general agreement which we ardently desired.

The Presidential message concludes by a warm declaration of America's friendship for Italy. I reply in the name of the Italian people, and proudly claim the right and the honour as my due, the due of him who, at the most tragic hour in this war, appealed to the Italian people with the cry, "Resistance at all costs!"

The cry was heard and responded to with a courage and self-denial of which there are few such examples in the history of the world; and Italy, thanks to the most heroic sacrifices and the purest blood of her children, was able to rise from the abyss of misfortune to the radiant summit of the most brilliant victory.

It is, then, in the name of Italy that I, in my turn, express the feeling of admiration and deep sympathy which the Italian people professes for the American people.

## (160.) SPEECHES AT PRESENTATION OF PEACE TREATY, VERSAILLES, MAY 7th, 1919.\*

### (I.) M. Clemenceau.

Gentlemen, Plenipotentiaries of the German Empire, it is neither the time nor the place for superfluous words. You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and Great Powers, united to fight together in the war that was so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our accounts.

You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace. We shall present to you now a book which contains our conditions. You will be given every facility to examine those conditions and the time necessary for it.

Everything will be done with the courtesy that is the privilege of civilised nations. To give you my thought completely, you will find us ready to give you any explanation you want, but we must say at the same time that this Second Treaty of Versailles has cost us too much not to take on our side all the necessary precautions and guarantees that this peace shall be a lasting one.

I will give you notice of the procedure that has been adopted by the Conference for discussion, and if anyone has any observation to offer he will have

the right to do so. No oral discussion is to take place, and the observations of the German delegation will be submitted in writing. The German plenipotentiaries will know that they have the maximum period of 15 days within which to present in English and French their written observations on the whole of the Treaty. Before the expiration of the 15 days the German delegates will be entitled to send their reply on particular headings of the Treaty or to ask questions in regard to them.

After having examined the observations presented within the afore-mentioned period, the Supreme Council will send their answer in writing to the German delegation, and determine the period within which the final answer must be given by that delegation.

I wish to add that when we receive, after two or three or four or five days, any observation from the German delegation on any point of the Treaty, we shall not wait until the end of the 15 days to give our answer; we shall at once proceed in the way indicated by this document.

\*From the *Daily News*, May 8th, 1919.

## (2.) Count Brockdorff-Rantzau.

Gentlemen,

We are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German arms is broken. We know the power of the hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that the victors shall make us pay as the vanquished, and shall punish those who deserve punishment.

It is demanded of us that we shall confess ourselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a confession in my mouth will be a lie. We are far from declining any responsibility for this great world war having come to pass, and for its having been made in the way in which it was made. The attitude of the former German Government at the Hague Peace Conference, its actions and omissions in the tragic twelve days of July, certainly contributed to the disaster, but we energetically deny that Germany and its people, who were convinced that they were making a war of defence, were alone guilty.

Nobody will want to contend that the disaster took its course only in the disastrous moment when the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary fell the victim of murderous hands. In the last 50 years the imperialism of all the European States has chronically poisoned the international situation. The policy of retaliation and the policy of expansion, and the disregard of the rights of peoples to determine their own destiny, have contributed to the illness of Europe, which reached its crisis in the world war.

Public opinion in all the countries of our adversaries is resounding with the crimes which Germany is said to have committed in the war. Here also we are ready to confess the wrong that may have been done. We have not come here to belittle the responsibility of the men who have waged the war politically and economically, and to deny any crimes which may have been committed against the rights of peoples.

We repeat the declaration made in the German Reichstag at the beginning of the war, that is to say: "a wrong has been done to Belgium and we are willing to repair it."

But in the manner of making war also Germany is not the only guilty party. Crimes in war may not be excusable, but they are committed in the struggle for victory and in the defence of national existence, and passions are aroused which made the conscience of peoples blunt.

The hundreds of thousands of non-combatants who have perished since November 11th by reason of the blockade were killed with cold deliberation,

after our adversaries had conquered and victory had been assured to them. Think of that when you speak of guilt and of punishment.

The measure of guilt of all those who have taken part can only be stated by impartial inquest before a neutral commission, before which all the principal persons of the tragedy are allowed to speak and to which all the archives are open. We have demanded such an inquest, and we repeat this demand again at this Conference, where we stand facing our adversaries alone and without any Allies.

We are not quite without protection. You yourselves have brought us an ally, namely, the right which is guaranteed by the Treaty, by the principles of the peace.

The Allies and Associated Governments forswore in the time between October 5th and November 5th, 1918, a peace of violence and wrote a "Peace of Justice" on their banner. On October 5th, 1918, the German Government proposed the principles of the President of the United States of America as the basis of peace, and on November 5th their Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, declared that the Allied and Associated Powers agreed to this basis, with two definite deviations. The principles of President Wilson have thus become binding for both parties to the war—you as well as for us, and also for our former Allies.

The various principles demand from us heavy national and economic sacrifices, but the holy fundamental rights of all peoples are protected by this Treaty. The conscience of the world is behind it. There is no nation which might violate it without punishment.

You will find us ready to examine upon this basis the preliminary peace which you have proposed to us with a firm intention of rebuilding in common with you that which has been destroyed and repairing any wrong that may have been committed—principally the wrong to Belgium—and to show to mankind new aims of political and social progress.

As our next aim, I consider the reconstruction of the territories of Belgium and of Northern France, which have been occupied by us and which have been destroyed by war. To do so we have taken upon ourselves a solemn obligation, and we are resolved to execute it to the extent which will have been agreed upon between us.

In this task we cannot do without the cooperation of our former adversaries. We cannot accomplish the work without the technical and financial participation of the victorious peoples, and you cannot execute it without us. Impoverished Europe must desire that the reconstruction shall be fulfilled with the greatest success, and with as little expense as is in any way possible.

It would be the worst method to go on and have

the work done by German prisoners of war. Certainly this work is cheap, but it would cost the world dear if hatred and despair should seize the German people when they consider that their brothers and sons and fathers, who are prisoners, are kept prisoners beyond the preliminary peace in the former penal work. Without any immediate solution of this question, which has been drawn out too long, we cannot come to a durable peace.

The sublime thought to be derived from the most terrible disaster in the history of mankind is the League of Nations—the greatest progress in the development of mankind has been pronounced and will make its way. Only if the gates of the League of Nations are thrown open to all who are of good will can the aim be attained, and only

then the dead of this war will not have died in vain.

The German people in their hearts are ready to take upon themselves their heavy lot if the bases of peace, which have been established, are not any more shaken. The peace which cannot be defended in the name of right before the world always calls forth new resistances against it. Nobody will be capable of subscribing to it with a good conscience, for it will not be possible of fulfilment. Nobody could be able to take upon itself the guarantee of its execution which ought to lie in its signature. We shall examine the document handed to us with good will and in the hope that the final result of our interview may be subscribed to by all of us.

## (161.) THE LEAGUE OR THE OLD ANARCHY.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES BY VISCOUNT GREY AND LORD R. CECIL, DELIVERED AT THE ALBERT HALL, LONDON, ON JUNE 13TH, 1919.\*

### (1) VISCOUNT GREY.

A year ago a League of Nations was a popular aspiration; the question was whether our Government and the Governments of other nations would take it up and give form and effect to it. Within the year that has been done. Form has been given to it. The Governments have done their part at Paris and drawn up a scheme. Now it is the turn of the people to show that what was their aspiration a year ago it is their intention and determination to make a reality of by giving support to the work which has been done by the Government.

It is true that the people of this country cannot make the League of Nations effective by themselves. Even the whole of Europe by itself cannot make the League of Nations effective without the support and sympathy and co-operation of other great nations on the other side of the Atlantic. We cannot influence the action of the peoples of other nations. What we trust to is that a similar impulse and influence will spontaneously move the peoples in other nations as it is moving us here.

But let us do our part. Let us make it clear that from this country, from the public opinion of this country, there is a strong, clear, resolute support for the principle of a League of Nations, and that that support comes not from a narrow national motive. It is true that the League of Nations is in the national interests of this country, and that in supporting it we are supporting the national interests of this country. But it is only a national

interest to us in precisely the same way that it is a national interest to the whole of the other nations of the world. Let our support be strong and clear, but let it be evident that our motive is no narrow motive of self-interest, but the great common motive of world peace.

There are those who think that the Covenant of the League as drawn up at Paris does not go far enough. I would recommend them to argue that out with the people—and there are a good many—who think it has gone too far. Let all who are in favour of the principle set their mind if they like to seeing that it is made better or goes further in future years, but let that not interfere with their desire and work to make the thing live to begin with.

The Governments have given it form; it is the people, and the people alone, who can give it life. To those who think that the League is an ideal that cannot be made practical, I would just say this. Has it not been fighting for an ideal that has won the war? What decides whether an ideal is practicable or not is men's hearts and men's feelings. Is it too much to hope that the awful suffering, the terrible experience of this war, has taught mankind such a lesson that something which was not possible before the war should become possible after the war?

The choice, after all, is whether you have a League of Nations or whether you let things go on in the old rut. It is not merely a choice between what is desirable and what is undesirable; it is a choice between life and death to the world. A

\* From the *Manchester Guardian*, June 14th, 1919.

future war with all the inventions of modern science would be vastly more terrible than this war has been. Unless there be with the increase of power in men an increase also of moral strength, the increase of power will work to their destruction. Those who have fought most bravely in this war have fought amongst other objects that they might not have to fight again, to prevent future wars.

The same causes are operating already that have brought about wars in the past. You can see that in the news in the papers every day. The same jealousies, rivalries, unkindnesses, suspicions, imputations of motives between nations—all those are at work again. The war has not killed them. To overcome the old tendencies to dispute between nations the people of the nations must be greater than the mean and small forces that are at work to keep them apart. We have been great in adversity, but we must be great also in victory.

#### (2) LORD ROBERT CECIL.

We may say without fear that, terrible and disastrous as this war has been, a future war would be a still greater disaster. And we may therefore say to our critics: "What do you propose if you do not like our plan?" We have a right to ask. What suggestion do you make? For one thing is certain—that no man who is not either a criminal or a lunatic will not wish to-day to do something to protect the world from a repetition of this scourge.

Some of the critics of the League of Nations were pure reactionaries and still lived in the days of the Treaty of Vienna. They were the Bourbons of diplomacy—they had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. When he first went to Paris five months ago there were a good many of such people of every nationality. But since then they had decreased. It was sometimes said that no Frenchmen believed in the League of Nations. That was a complete mistake, for the French were keener for the League than were the soldiers of Britain and America. No doubt there were still a few reactionaries lingering in the Chancelleries and Cabinets of Europe, but among the masses of the people their numbers were insignificant.

Another class of critics (he continued) profess themselves favourable to the idea of the League, but not this League. With one breath they protest against any attempt to limit the armaments of independent nations, and with the next they point out that little, if anything, will result from the disarmament clauses of the Covenant. They angrily demand that no nation shall be overruled by the votes of the other nations. It is pointed out to them that under the Covenant unanimity is required for almost every decision of importance. They turn round and say: "How useless, then, your League of Nations will be." But there is no pleasing such men. The League of Nations' Commission did its best to meet their objections.

I do not contend that the Covenant is perfect,

but that it is a living organism; it will grow and adapt itself to the requirements of its functions. When it has been at work and we have had experience of its practical defects, then I hope we shall not hesitate to make such changes in it as may be necessary.

The main lines of the Covenant have never been assailed. There is a general agreement, apparently, that the League shall have as its organs a small Council representing the Governments and a larger Assembly representing other elements of each nation. Again, there has been no serious attack upon the general method of action of the League. It is conceded that its great object should be to prevent wars until every other possible method of settling national disputes has been tried, and that to secure this object we must rely upon the organised and instructed public opinion of the world.

Some critics contend that Article 10 of the Covenant which guarantees the members of the League against external aggression directed against the territorial integrity or political independence of any one of them assumes that the actually existing settlement and the actually existing boundaries of each country are to be made unalterable. Nothing can be less true. There has been no more fruitful cause of war than the attempt to fix for ever by cast-iron treaties the limits of each nation. All that the Covenant does is to say that when any change becomes necessary it should not be by force and violence, but by discussion and debate. Surely without some provision of that kind any League of Nations would be a farce! The first necessity is to establish beyond dispute the doctrine that aggressive war is the greatest of all international crimes—a doctrine that does not seem yet accepted as it must be in some parts of Central Europe.

Then there is a charge that the League is one in favour of the British Empire because each of the self-governing nations which make it up are given a voice therein. But practically no decision of importance can be taken without the consent of the Council, and there is no probability whatever that on the Council the British Empire will ever have more than one vote, and, with very rare exceptions, every decision has to be unanimous.

But, after all, these are minor matters. The broad question is: Do we desire to put an end to the existing international anarchy? Are we prepared to scrap, once and for all, the old system of alliances and counter-alliances and secret treaties and competitive armaments, the balance of power, and all other noxious fruits of international rivalry? Those who think that anything worth having can be accomplished in this direction without the sacrifice of some prejudices and preconceptions are living in a world of illusion.

If you are to have a League of Nations based on international co-operation there must be some give-and-take between the partners in that great enterprise. If you like to say that that means a diminu-

tion of national sovereignty, I can only reply that in that sense every international arrangement, every treaty of commerce, is necessarily a limitation of complete independence. Whoever heard of a man going into partnership with another and yet claiming complete freedom of action in partnership affairs?

I understand those—profoundly as I disagree with them—who are against any change in the old system, who want the world to go on on the plan which led to the late war. But I do not understand the men who say that they want a League of Nations, and yet quarrel with the very foundation of the idea on which the League of Nations rests.

For my part, I am ready to accept it with all its implications; and yet, if selfish counsels were to prevail, Britain might perhaps think she had less need of the League than almost any other European nation. She has been through the greatest war in history, and though it would be very far indeed from the truth to say that she has come out unscathed, yet it is true that her European position is stronger than it has ever been in her history.

We want the League because we want peace; not only because peace is the greatest of British interests, but because peace is the dearest wish of all who love humanity and believe in God. As for myself, I want emphatically a League of Nations, a league of all nations; not a mere fresh piece of diplomatic machinery, but something which will bring into closer contact all the live forces of each of the nations of the world; not a mere alliance of certain nations.

If our conception has any truth in it, it means the end of the dividing of nations into separate camps. I see a great deal of discussion about the admission of Germany into the League. I have never concealed my opinion that if the League of Nations is to be a reality, Germany, not less than Russia, must be included in it. I quite admit that we must in mere prudence insist on some guarantee that Germany comes into the League as a genuine friend of the League idea.

We cannot forget that the whole basis of Prussian militarism was the very antithesis of international co-operation. We must be quite sure that the recent professions of Germany are sincere. We have a right to ask that the new Germany—if new it be—shall go through a certain novitiate, but, for my part, the shorter that novitiate can safely be made the better I shall be pleased; and as soon as we can feel reasonably secure that the German Government is a real thing and not a passing phantasm, and it has shown by its actions that Germany has done with her bad past—I see no reason why that should take longer than a few months—then Germany should be admitted to the League.

Though the circumstances were, of course, quite different, he would apply the same broad tests to Russia as well. The League of Nations no doubt would confer advantages on its members, but it would also impose upon them certain obligations. The chief of those was that each member would be required to live peaceably with his fellows. To exclude for any length of time a powerful nation or group of nations would be to drive them into intrigues against the League, to split up the world again into diverse hostile camps, and to destroy the foundation upon which the League itself must rest.

The League must be a League of Nations and not of Governments. It will impose upon the peoples of the world a great responsibility. They will no longer have the right to dismiss from their minds international affairs. They will no longer have the right to treat foreign policy as the business of the Government. It lies with the people to make the League a reality. It must be a fundamental principle of British policy.

With regard to the Peace Treaty, it must be judged by the principles of the League. If not a treaty on which the League of Nations could usefully be built, they must ask the League to change it. And that must be the test to which we must submit every international agreement and every international action.

## (162.) GENERAL SMUTS'S MANIFESTO.

### A STRIKING APPEAL.\*

*General Smuts has issued the following statement on the signing of the Peace Treaty and the problems of reconstruction:—*

I have signed the Peace Treaty, not because I consider it a satisfactory document,

\* From the *Manchester Guardian*, June 30th, 1919.

but because it is imperatively necessary to close the war; because the world needs peace above all, and nothing could be more fatal than the continuance of the state of suspense between war and peace. The months since the armistice was signed have perhaps been

as upsetting, unsettling, and ruinous to Europe as the previous four years of war. I look upon the Peace Treaty as the close of those two chapters of war and armistice, and only on that ground do I agree to it.

I say this now, not in criticism, but in faith; not because I wish to find fault with the work done, but rather because I feel that in the Treaty we have not yet achieved the real peace to which our peoples were looking, and because I feel that the real work of making peace will only begin after this Treaty has been signed, and a definite halt has thereby been called to the destructive passions that have been desolating Europe for nearly five years. This Treaty is simply the liquidation of the war situation in the world.

The promise of the new life, the victory of the great human ideals, for which the peoples have shed their blood and their treasure without stint, the fulfilment of their aspirations towards a new international order and a fairer, better world are not written in this Treaty, and will not be written in treaties. "Not in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, but in spirit and in truth," as the Great Master said, must the foundations of the new order be laid. A new heart must be given, not only to our enemies, but also to us; a contrite spirit for the woes which have overwhelmed the world; a spirit of pity, mercy, and forgiveness for the sins and wrongs which we have suffered. A new spirit of generosity and humanity, born in the hearts of the peoples in this great hour of common suffering and sorrow, can alone heal the wounds which have been inflicted on the body of Christendom.

And this new spirit among the peoples will be the solvent for the problems which the statesmen have found too hard at the Conference. There are territorial settlements which will need revision. There are guarantees laid down, which we all hope will soon be found out of harmony with the new peaceful temper and unarmed state of our former enemies.

There are punishments foreshadowed, over most of which a calmer mood may yet prefer to pass the sponge of oblivion. There are indemnities stipulated, which cannot be exacted without grave injury to the industrial revival of Europe, and which it will be

in the interests of all to render more tolerable and moderate.

There are numerous pin-pricks, which will cease to pain under the healing influences of the new international atmosphere. The real peace of the peoples ought to follow, complete, and amend the peace of the statesmen.

In this Treaty, however, two achievements of far-reaching importance for the world are definitely recorded. The one is the destruction of Prussian militarism, the other is the institution of the League of Nations. I am confident the League of Nations will yet prove the path of escape for Europe out of the ruin brought about by this war.

But the League is as yet only a form. It still requires the quickening life, which can only come from the active interest and the vitalising contact of the peoples themselves. The new creative spirit, which is once more moving among the peoples in their anguish, must fill the institution with life and with inspiration for the pacific ideals born of this war, and so convert it into a real instrument of progress. In that way the abolition of militarism, in this Treaty unfortunately confined to the enemy, may soon come as a blessing and relief to the Allied peoples as well.

And the enemy peoples should at the earliest possible date join the League, and in collaboration with the Allied peoples learn to practise the great lesson of this war—that not in separate ambitions or in selfish domination, but in common service for the great human causes, lies the true path of national progress.

This joint collaboration is specially necessary to-day for the reconstruction of a ruined and broken world. The war has resulted, not only in the utter defeat of the enemy armies, but has gone immeasurably further. We witness the collapse of the whole political and economic fabric of Central and Eastern Europe. Unemployment, starvation, anarchy, war, disease, and despair stalk through the land.

Unless the victors can effectively extend a helping hand to the defeated and broken peoples, a large part of Europe is threatened with exhaustion and decay. Russia has already walked into the night, and the risk that the rest may follow is very grave indeed. The effects of this disaster would not be



confined to Central and Eastern Europe. For civilisation is one body, and we are all members of one another.

A supreme necessity is laid on all to grapple with this situation. And in the joint work of beneficence the old feuds will tend to be forgotten, the roots of reconciliation among the peoples will begin to grow again, and ultimately flower into active, fruitful, lasting peace.

To the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, who have been exceptionally blessed with the good things of life, I would make a special appeal. Let them exert themselves to the utmost in this great work of saving the wreckage of life and industry on the Continent of Europe. They have a great mission, and in fulfilling it they will be as much blessed as blessing.

All this is possible, and I hope capable of accomplishment; but only on two conditions.

In the first place, the Germans must convince our peoples of their good faith, of their complete sincerity through a real honest effort to fulfil their obligations under the Treaty to the extent of their ability. They will find the British people disposed to meet them half-way in their unexampled difficulties and perplexities. But any resort to subterfuges or to underhand means to defeat or evade the Peace Treaty will only revive old suspicions and rouse anger and prove fatal to a good understanding.

And, in the second place, our Allied peoples must remember that God gave them overwhelming victory—victory far beyond their greatest dreams, not for small selfish ends, not for financial or economic advantages, but for the attainment of the great human ideals, for which our heroes gave their lives, and which are the real victors in this war of ideals.

### (163.) PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 3rd, 1919.\*

I have to lay on the table of the House, and to ask leave to introduce, two bills to enforce the most momentous document to which the British Empire has ever affixed its seal. It is unnecessary to obtain the ratification of Parliament to a treaty except in one or two particulars; the ratification is the ratification of the Crown. But there are certain provisions in the Treaty of Peace which was signed last Saturday for which it is necessary to obtain an Act of Parliament in order to enforce them.

Therefore I propose to ask leave to introduce a bill in the usual form to enable his Majesty to make such appointments, establish such offices, make such Orders in Council, and do such things as appear to him to be necessary for carrying out the said treaty and giving effect to any provisions of the treaty. That is the usual form, I believe, in which measures of this kind have hitherto been couched.

It is also necessary to have an Act of Parliament in order to obtain the sanction of Parliament to the Convention between his Majesty and the President of the French Republic. That Convention has already been laid on the table and I hope has been circulated.

Before I say a word about the character of the treaty and about the purposes which animated those

who negotiated it, I should like to say how much we owe to the experts who assisted in the preparation of the treaty and to my colleagues who were associated with me, more particularly in France, in its preparation. I cannot say how much I personally owe, and how much I am certain the nation owes, to the Foreign Secretary, whose ripe experience, acute intellect, and brilliant pen have been invaluable in the preparation of various parts of this great document.

I should also like to recognise the services rendered by my right hon. friend and colleague the member for one of the divisions of Glasgow (Mr. Barnes) for the great tact with which he initiated, negotiated, and put through all the terms of the great labour charter which is now incorporated in the Treaty of Peace. I mention these particularly because, although other Ministers have from time to time rendered great assistance they have been there throughout and devoted the whole of their time to this great task.

I should also like to be able to say how much we owe to the Prime Ministers and other members of the great Dominion Governments for the assistance they have given. Sir R. Borden, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Massey, and General Botha took part in some of the most difficult Commissions, notably the Territorial Commission for the adjustment of the extra-

\* From the *Manchester Guardian*, July 4th, 1919.

ordinarily delicate and complex, ethnological, economical, and strategical questions which arose between the various States throughout Europe. They in the main represented the British Empire upon many of these most difficult Commissions, and we owe a great deal to the ability and judgment with which they discharged their functions.

I should not be doing my duty if I did not recognise how much this country owes to the great body of experts who have taken part in the innumerable Commissions which have been working in connection with the preparation of these documents. We are rather too apt in this country to depreciate our public servants, to treat them as overpaid and underworked. They are neither overpaid nor underworked; quite the reverse.

I think it right the country should know the admiration won among foreign delegations by the work of British experts on the various Commissions. It was a matter of common knowledge and common talk how efficient they were, how skilful, and a good deal of this treaty is the direct work of the public servants of Great Britain upon these world Commissions, where they were really actually taking a lead. We all owe these British experts a deep debt of gratitude, appreciation, and admiration for the splendid work they have done in meeting the experts of the whole world on equal terms, to say the very least. It is my duty to make that acknowledgment on this occasion.

The last time I had the opportunity to address the House upon this treaty its main outlines had been settled. I ventured then to call it a stern but just treaty. I adhere to that description. The terms are in many respects terrible terms to impose upon a country. Terrible were the deeds which required it; terrible were the consequences which are inflicted on the world. Still more terrible would have been the consequences had they succeeded. What do they mean to Germany? Let us look at it frankly.

In 1914 you had an Empire which possessed the greatest army in the world, the greatest army probably the world had ever seen. It had taken nearly two centuries to perfect. It was a perfect and powerful striking machine. It was the terror of the world. You had only to visit France or any other country to realise how Europe trembled—it is no exaggeration—at the tramp of this mighty machine. It rendered the word of Germany potent. It has now been reduced to the size of a force quite adequate to maintain the peace in Germany, but not equal to disturb the peace of the feeblest of her neighbours—not even Czecho-Slovakia.

There was a navy, the second in the world. I have heard grave debates in this House not so many years ago which gave the impression that this navy might successfully challenge ours, the greatest navy in the world, and enable that terrible army to invade a land which had not been invaded for hundreds of years. Where is it now?

The colonies of Germany covered about one and a half million square miles. She is stripped of them. Territories of the size, say, of Scotland and Wales have been torn from her side—they ought never to have been there—and their population is now forming an integral part of other nations. Her mercantile marine is all scattered. The ruler who spoke of her pride and her majesty and her might for 31 years is now a fugitive, and soon to be placed on his trial before a tribunal of the lands whom, on behalf of his country, he sought to intimidate.

They are terrible terms, and her debt is more than double what is required to pay restitution to those she has done damage to. I am not minimising the terms, and if anyone wants to exercise his imagination to realise what they mean he has only got to apply those terms to Great Britain, and he will begin to realise what they mean. There is no doubt they are stern.

Are they just? Let us examine those which have been challenged separately. Take the territorial terms. In so far as territory has been taken away from Germany it is a restoration. Alsace-Lorraine, forcibly taken away from the land to which its population was deeply attached—is it an injustice to restore them to that country? Then there is Slesvig-Holstein, the meanest of the Hohenzollern frauds—robbing a poor, small, helpless country with a pretence that you are not doing it, and then retaining that land against the wishes of its population for fifty or sixty years. I am glad the opportunity has come for restoring Slesvig-Holstein.

Poland, torn to bits to feed the carnivorous greed of Russian, Austrian, and Prussian autocracy. This treaty has reknit the torn flag of Poland, which is now waving over a free and united people. And it will have to be defended, for Poland is indeed in a perilous position between Germany, shorn of its prey, and an unknown Russia which has not yet emerged. All those territorial adjustments involved the question of restoration. Take Danzig—Danzig, a free city, forcibly incorporated in the kingdom of Prussia. They are all territories that ought not to belong to Germany, and they are now restored to the independence of which they have been deprived by Prussian aggression.

I should like to say one word before I quit the problem of Poland, because there has been some discussion about it. However unjust it was to take Polish populations and put them under German rule, it would be equally unjust to take German populations and place them under Polish rule, and equally foolish. Whether for strategic or economic reasons, it would do nothing but produce mischief in Europe.

Europe has got the lesson of Alsace-Lorraine, and it would be folly on her part to create any more Alsace-Lorraines in Europe. It would have been a wrong, not merely to Germany, but it would have been a wrong to Poland; it would have been a wrong to Europe. Perhaps in fifty years' time Poland would have had to pay the penalty of the

blunder committed by the Allies in this year. For that reason the British Delegation opposed any attempt to put predominantly German populations under Polish rule, and I think Poland will have good reason to thank us for the part which we took in the action. But take all these territorial questions, all these territorial adjustments—I will ask anyone to point to any territorial change we have made in respect to Germany in Europe which is in the least an injustice, judged by any principle of fairness.

Now I come to the question of reparation. Are the terms we have imposed there unjust to Germany? If the whole cost of the war, all the costs incurred by every country that had been forced into the war by the action of Germany had been thrown upon Germany it would have been in accord with every principle of civilised jurisprudence in the world. There was but one limit to the justice and to the wisdom of the reparation we claim, and that was the limit of Germany's capacity to pay. The experts of all the great Allied countries examined with very close attention that question, and they arrived with fair unanimity at the approximate limits of what reparation could be recovered from Germany, and under the treaty have neither exceeded nor fallen short of their verdict.

We set out certain indications of damage which Germany must repair, damage to property on land and sea, damage for loss of lives amongst civilians—that includes damage sustained by the relatives of those gallant sailors who lost their lives in the merchant shipping of this country, damage for loss of shipping and cargoes, and also damage which is represented by the pensions and separation allowances which are paid by each country in respect of casualties in the war. Is there anything unjust in imposing on Germany these payments? I do not believe that anyone can claim them to be unjust. Certainly one could complain that it was unjust unless he believed that the justice of the war was on the side of Germany.

Now I come to another condition—disarmament. Is there anything unjust, having regard to the uses Germany made of her great army, in scattering that army, disarming it, and making it incapable of inflicting again the injury which it has inflicted upon the world?

I come again to the colonies. In some of the colonies there is most overwhelming evidence that Germany has cruelly ill-treated the natives. If we did restore those colonies to Germany in face of that evidence, especially having regard to the part which the natives took in their own liberation, thus giving Germany an opportunity of effecting reprisals, it would have been a base betrayal. But it is not merely the treatment of the natives. Take the other uses the Germans made of their colonies. Their South African possessions they used as a means of stirring up sedition and rebellion against our South African colonies. Her other colonies she

used as a base for preying upon the commerce of all countries in those seas. It would be folly on our part if under those conditions we had widened the area of injustice and given renewed opportunity to Germany for possible future mischief by restoring those colonies.

Take another condition, the trial of those responsible for the war. I think it is essential, if wars of this kind are to be prevented in the future, that those who are personally responsible for them and have taken part in plotting and planning them should be held responsible for them. After all, millions of gallant young men have lost their lives; there has been terrible suffering in the war; and the one or two men who were responsible for engineering the war ought to be held responsible for it.

Therefore we decided that exceptional courts—and a pity it is that they are exceptional; if they had been in existence before there would have been fewer wars—we have decided that the man who undoubtedly was primarily responsible for this war in the judgment, at any rate, of the Allied countries should be tried for the offence he committed in breaking treaties which he was bound in honour to respect and to which he was a party, and by that means bringing these horrors on the world.

The Allied countries have decided quite unanimously that the tribunal, which will be an inter-Allied one, shall sit in London for the trial of the person who is supremely responsible for the war.

The same thing applies to the punishment for the crimes of officers against the laws of war. There is a longer category of them than the House imagines. Some of them are incredible. I could not have believed it had it not been for the evidence. I should not have thought that any nation with a pretence to civilization could have permitted such atrocities. I am not going to detail them; I should not care to enumerate them; but they ought to be punished. Officers who are guilty of these things in a moment of arrogance, feeling that their power is irresistible to do what they please, ought to know in the future that they will be held personally responsible.

War is horrible enough without permitting these unlicensed infamies upon rules which are quite cruel enough. Therefore they must be tried. They will get a fair trial, all of them, an absolutely fair trial. It is due to the honour of the Allied countries to require that. Our credit stands behind a fair trial. We have got to show that we are a civilised people and that we try according to the methods and rules of civilisation. They will get fair play; they have no right to more. What injustice is there in that, what undue harshness? It is the averting of it, it is making it impossible for the future.

What are the other acts of injustice in this treaty? To get rid of the Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk Treaties, treaties that made the population of

Rumania and large tracts of Russia mere slaves of German greed and rapine—is that unjust? Is it unjust that we should in our economic terms make it clear that Germany is not to take advantage of the wanton destruction of the trade machinery of her rivals in Belgium and in France in order to get ahead in the competitive race? Because money does not put that right. You cannot get machinery in a year or perhaps two. Money will not put that right. We cannot get that for a year or two years, and meanwhile Germany, which has not been devastated, will be going ahead. What injustice is there?

I have heard it stated that the great international rivers should not be put under international control. Why not? They are rivers that do not pass through Germany alone, but through Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and Belgium. Is it right, purely because part of these rivers go through Prussia that Germany should have power to strangle the economic life of these young countries? These rivers are navigable right up to Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. They must remain so.

I ask anyone to point out in respect of any of these main provisions a single act of injustice which any perfectly impartial court would not have adjudicated upon exactly in the sense in which the Council sat for six months in Paris scrupulously examining all these conditions. I am told, taken individually, they may be quite fair, but that the accumulative effect is so crushing that you ought to take that into account. That criticism I am prepared to meet.

They say "It may be just, but is it wise?" I agree that justice ought not merely to be tempered by mercy, but guided by wisdom, and if these conditions do not meet it, I freely admit that each individual decision should be taken on its merits. There were three alternative methods of dealing with Germany. Bear in mind she not merely provoked but planned the most devastating war the world has ever seen. She planned it for years. She deliberately embarked upon it not merely to defend herself against her neighbours, but to aggrandise herself at the expense of her neighbours. I cannot think of a worse crime, certainly in the conditions of Europe as they were.

They had millions of armed men in other lands, and they deliberately hurled four millions of their own against millions in France, millions in Russia, and possibly millions in the United Kingdom. They lit a fire and knew not what it would devour, scorch, and burn, or the suffering it would cause. It cost millions of lives. It cost actually in the expense of the war for all lands thirty thousand millions, and all that that represents in the possible happiness of the human race.

The sufferings of the war will not pass away till this generation has passed. We know what it is in hundreds of thousands of households. It is not the gallant young fellows merely who have given

their lives in a great hour; it is the households that will suffer torture as long as they draw breath. All that planned, plotted, deliberately embarked upon.

That is what happened when they failed. What would have happened if they had succeeded? The world is rocking and reeling under a blow that has failed. I do not know when it will recover. I have seen something of Europe, and I have heard, and I do not know when the effects of that blow will come to an end. If they had succeeded, liberty in Europe would have vanished, and that is more precious than even precious lives. It would have altered the whole character of Europe. You would have had a military tyranny throughout the world. Cumulative effect. Think of the cumulative effect of crimes.

There are two ways of dealing with the crime. One was to say, "You have tried, you have failed, go sin no more." There are hon. friends of mine who seem to think that is a good way of dealing with it. Let us see what it means. I am not afraid of examining that. Do not let us imagine because it looks ridiculous there are not people who do not believe in it. I mean outside the House.

You must remember that Germany has suffered less than her victims. Louvain is not in Prussia; Rheims is not in Pomerania. The devastated territories are not in Brandenburg. Look at that land of desolation, remember the wilderness! I have traversed it pretty well from one end to the other. I felt it my duty to do so to know what I was dealing with. That is not across the Rhine. Across the Rhine there are no devastated cities; there are no scorched plains. The country is whole; its factories and machinery are there—their own and other people's.

If you had done that, Germany would have been better off. Why? Because she had a perfect military machine, and she could have said: "Look at the triumph of militarism. We have kept all this devastation from you. France is paying more now than we are." Why, to have done that would have been to put a premium on militarism. However, I do not think it is worth arguing about.

Let us take the second as going to the other extreme. Treat Germany as Rome treated Carthage, or, let me say, as Prussia treated Poland—destroy her national existence, tear her to pieces; fling one piece to one conqueror, another to another, and a third to another. Fling the bits to the winds of heaven and have done with it. That is how Prussia treated Poland. It was not merely a crime; it was a blunder. After a century and a half Poland reappears, a formidable foe—a bitter foe. She has but 20 millions of her population now; Germany has 60. It is not merely that it would have been a wrong, an injustice; it would have been a folly, and I am glad we have not soiled our hands with Prussian methods in dealing with Prussia.

What is the third method? To compel Germany, in

so far as it is in her power, to restore, to repair, to redress, to take every possible precaution against the recurrence of such a thing, to make such an example as will discourage ambitious rulers—yea, and ambitious people—from ever attempting again to repeat this infamy. That is not vengeance; it is discouragement. The crime must be marked; the world cannot take these risks again.

I said that Germany failed. I shudder to think how near she got to success. When you are thinking of the terms of peace, you must think of making it impossible for any country to repeat an experiment of this kind without running the most terrible risks. Every delegate in that Council felt in his heart the supreme need for imposing terms that would make not merely rulers, but nations, shrink from attempting a crime of this kind again. That was the line we proceeded on.

But it is said: "Are you not punishing the German people for the crimes of their rulers?" Well, I am sorry to have to answer this, but I must. If Germany had been committed to this war against the will of her people, I say at once we ought to have taken that into account in the terms of peace. But was that so? (Cries of "No") The nation approved, the nation applauded, the nation had been taught to approve. From the Baltic to the Boden Sea the nation was united and enthusiastic behind this enterprise.

It was not like the unity and the enthusiasm of France to repel an invader of French soil. It was an enthusiasm which was at its highest when the German troops were marching through Belgium. Supposing the German Chancellor had returned from the Peace Conference with a German peace—Belgium added to the Fatherland, the mines of Briey added to the mineral wealth of the Rhineland, the British Fleet surrendered? I agree it requires some imagination, but I ask my hon. friends to accept it for the moment. Supposing there had been a peace of that kind—the British Mercantile Marine taken away, and the British dependencies added to the German Colonies, huge indemnities imposed upon France and Great Britain for a war they never provoked and entered into against their will?

My hon. friends will now see what we have escaped. That was what Germany was after. But, supposing those things had happened—the mere fact that Belgium was a helpless country and was not capable of invading Prussia or any other land, the mere fact that France was more pacific than ever, that Great Britain had not the slightest desire to enter into war with any land?—that would not have prevented the German people as a whole receiving those terms with delirious joy for the triumph of the Fatherland.

I should have been glad had it been possible to say that this was a war that had been entered into against the will of the German people. But it was not, and therefore in the terms it is essential that

nations must know, if they enter into unprovoked wars of aggression against their neighbours, what lies in store for them when defeat falls upon them.

I therefore have no hesitation in challenging anyone, either inside or outside this House, to point to a single clause in this treaty that is not in accordance with the stern and highest demands of justice and of fair play.

The next question that is asked is: "What are your guarantees for the execution of this treaty?" I need hardly assure the House that this gave us very great concern and that we thought a good deal about it. We were determined, at any rate, that this treaty should not be a "scrap of paper." What are the guarantees? The first is the disarmament of Germany. The German Army was the foundation and corner-stone of the Prussian power, and you had to scatter it, disperse it, disarm it, to make it impossible for it to come together again, and make it impossible to equip such an army. The first step we took was to reduce the Germany Army from four millions to 100,000—quite adequate for the maintenance of peace in Germany.

Then came a question as to whether that army should be a voluntary army or a conscript army. The British Delegation had no hesitation in proposing that it should be a voluntary army—with a long term of service; and I will tell the House why we came to that conclusion.

The first proposal was that there should be a conscript army of 200,000. That would have meant that in ten years you might have had a million and a half trained men in Germany, and in twenty years you might have had three million trained men in Germany; and, as everybody knows, that was more or less the method by which the army was created in Germany that overthrew Napoleon—by short terms of service, and passing the youth of the nation as rapidly as they could through the machine. That we did not think was disarming Germany, and therefore we strongly advocated a long-service army, which would leave the mass of the population untrained and make it impossible for the Germans to raise huge armies if they got someone else to equip them.

There was always the possibility that although you might not be able to find equipment in Germany, there might be allies that could equip them. On the other hand, if you do not get your trained men, it would have taken time, at any rate, to accustom them to the use of arms.

We had always our own experience and the experience of America. Although we had a very considerable force in 1914 scattered over the Empire, it was a force which was equipped rather for defence than offence, and, in spite of the fact that you had in the British Empire a million armed men in 1914, still we were not able to put into the field an army that you could reckon to face a great Continental army until 1916. Why? It took time to train, to equip, to get the necessary officers, and

to make ready. You cannot, therefore, wage a war of aggression under those circumstances, and that is why we felt that as long as you forced the German Army down to a small number, Germany could never take part in a war of aggression, and that is what we want to avoid. Those who know the steps taken to make it impossible for Germany to have great factories and arsenals, that at any moment she can turn on for the equipment of great forces also know very well by experience that you can convert and adapt machinery used for peaceable purposes to war-like purposes. But it takes time, and all that makes a war of aggression impossible. We therefore regard disarmament, the reduction of her Army, the destruction of her arsenals, the taking away of her guns, as one of the first and foremost guarantees of peace that you could exact in the treaty.

The same thing applies to her Navy. Then comes another guarantee, and that is the United States and British guarantee in the face of a wanton and unprovoked attack being made upon France. I do not suppose any section of the House would object to that. It is to be entered into with the approval of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations is an experiment, and France has within living memory been twice invaded by Germany. A population of 40 millions is faced by a hostile population of 60 or 70 millions, and France has a legitimate reason for feeling a nervous apprehension when Great Britain has gone home, when America has left, and there is a distance of 3,000 miles between her and the coast of France. Then there are the gallant men from the Dominions who fought so bravely on French soil—the Australian men, the New Zealanders, the South Africans, and the Canadians—all of whom won the deepest affection in France. When all these troops have departed, France sees herself there with only the Rhine between her and this foe, who has trampled upon her ruthlessly and torn her flesh twice within living memory.

So France says: "We would like to know if you Britons, you Americans, will help to emancipate our soil and are still behind us if there is any wanton aggression." I invite the British Parliament to say "Yes."

I do not agree that that is a lack of faith in the League of Nations, but the contrary. The League of Nations will be of no value unless it has the sanction behind it of strong nations prepared at a moment's notice to stop aggression. If it has not, the League of Nations will be a scrap of paper. I do not say that this will bind you, engage you, to side with France in a war with Germany if ever it should happen. No; it only engages us if there is a wanton provocation on the part of Germany. That is clearly and definitely stated in the document itself.

I cannot imagine anyone in this country or in America, if there should be a wanton attack on

the part of Germany—which I don't expect there will be; Germany has had enough—hesitating for a moment in going to the aid of that gallant country which has suffered more than any other country through wanton aggression. I therefore propose to invite the House of Commons to sanction and approve that Bill.

Now, what is the other guarantee? The army of occupation. Well, there are some who attach more importance to that than do others. The French people very naturally would like to feel that, at any rate until Germany shows evidence of good-will—evidence that she means honestly to execute the treaty, they have to keep that force on the Rhine. But I am perfectly certain of this: That France does not wish to keep an army there for a single day beyond the absolute necessity of the case, because there are perils in an army of occupation. There are unfortunate possibilities in an army of occupation, and France does not desire to keep an army there merely in order to be able to occupy German cities.

Therefore, if Germany shows her good-will—if Germany gives the necessary guarantees for the execution of the treaty—then France is quite prepared to reconsider at the proper moment the question of occupation.

The second matter, which is a very important one in respect of occupation, is its cost. That we are greatly interested in, inasmuch as we are interested in Germany paying her instalments of the indemnity. We do not wish to impose an unnecessary expense upon the German people which would be a first charge upon the fund, in which we are just as much interested as any other country. Therefore we have had an understanding with France that the moment the German Government carry out their undertaking with regard to disarmament, the cost of the army of occupation shall not exceed 240,000,000 marks a year. I do not know what the value of the mark is at the present day. At any rate, that, I think, is a satisfactory arrangement.

I propose to put on the table of the House a document signed by M. Clemenceau, President Wilson, and myself, which notifies that arrangement. That does not require any solution. It is simply an indication on the part of France of her intentions.

Now I come to the greatest guarantee of all—that is the League of Nations. Let me say with regard to the League that great and hopeful experiment is only rendered possible by the other conditions, and I want the House to realise that thoroughly. Without disarmament—without indications which this war has given that the nations of the world are determined at all costs that war should cease—this League of Nations will become just like other conventions of the past—something that will be blown away by the first gust of war or any fierce dispute between the nations. It is

this war and the treaty that concluded this war that makes a League of Nations possible.

The world has had a great fright. It used to be said by all great military writers that the next great war could not last longer than six weeks or three months perhaps. It was the conviction of everybody at the beginning of this war that it would be sharp but short. Nations could not go on beyond a few months. It was the conviction of Germany. She would never have entered into the war if she had thought that it would have lasted so long. The world knows now that the conditions of modern warfare, with its ponderous armies and its trundling heavy machinery, conduce to the length of the war. It also realises the peril of small disputes. A little quarrel about a murder in Bosnia and the world is aflame.

There are many things the world realises and is prepared to take into account and provide against, and this League of Nations is an attempt to do it by some less barbarous method than by war. Let us try it. I beg this country to try it seriously and earnestly. It is due to mankind that we should do it. Anything except the horrors of this last war. If you must come to it—well, you must; but do let us try this.

Take Article 12 of this Covenant: "The members of the League agree that if there should arise between the nations a dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter to either arbitration or inquiry." And then nine months elapse. Supposing that article had been in existence in 1914, it would have been difficult for Germany and Austria to have gone to war; and, if they had, America would have been in on the first day, and not three years after, and that would have made all the difference.

With this machinery I am not going to say you will never have war. War is a savage animal. You have only got to go to the field of Verdun, where in a narrow circle, you can see where about three millions of men were engaged in deadly conflict for five months—where the earth is like congealed human savagery—to see what a terrible being man is when he is roused.

If you avert one war, the League of Nations will have justified itself. If you let one generation pass without the blood of millions being spilled, and without the agony which filled so many homes, the League of Nations will be justified, and I beg no one to sneer at the League of Nations.

Let us try, and I believe it will succeed. It will succeed in stopping some wars. It may not stop every war. The world has gone from war to war until at last we have despaired of stopping it. But society, with all its organisations, has not stopped every crime. What it does is to make crime difficult and unsuccessful, and that is what the League of Nations will do. Therefore, I look to it with hope and confidence to do great things for humanity.

It is said, "Why do you not let Germany in at

once?" I have thought a great deal about that, and if I thought it would be better for the peace of the world, I would not have minded the clamour. But I do not think it would have been better for Germany or for Europe. I think you must let some time elapse. It is difficult to forget some things. It is rather difficult for us, but especially difficult for France. More than that, I am not sure that if you introduce Germany now, before all the questions which remain for settlement have been disposed of, you would not have opened a field for intrigue, mischief, and dissension, and harm would be done.

Distinctly it would be a mistake in my view for Germany to come in immediately. The date when Germany comes in depends upon Germany herself. She can accelerate it. If she places obstacles in the way—if she shows that the same old spirit animates her—she will put off that date. But if Germany shows that she has really broken from the past, if she shows that the fires of war have really purified her soul—if she shows at any rate that she realises that her policy for the last fifty years was a bitter mistake—then Germany can accelerate the date.

I hope she will try—that she will realise that defeat has been her salvation and rid herself of the militarism of junkers and Hohenzollerns. She has paid a big price for her deliverance. I think she will find that it is worth it all; and when she does, Germany will then be a fit member of the League of Nations. The sooner that comes about the better it will be for Germany and for the world.

I want to say a word about the mandates for the colonies before I sit down. It was decided in the negotiations that the German colonies should be disposed of, not by way of distributing them among the conquerors, but by way rather of entrusting them to the Great Powers to be administered in the name and on behalf of humanity. The conditions under which these mandates were entrusted to the various countries differed according to the particular territory which was disposed of.

For instance, South-West Africa, running as it does side by side with Cape Colony, was thought to be so much a part, geographically, of that area that it would be quite impossible to treat it in the same way as you would treat a colony removed two or three thousand miles away from the centre of administration. There is no doubt at all that South-West Africa will become an integral part of the Federation of South Africa. It will be colonised by people from South Africa, and you could not have done anything else. You could not have set up Customs barriers or had a different system of administration.

The same thing applied to New Guinea, part of which is already under the administration of the Australian Commonwealth. You could not have had that part under one system of administration and the next part under another. It is contiguous

to and so near the Australian Commonwealth that it was felt that it could be treated as if it were part of that Commonwealth.

That did not apply to Togoland, the Cameroons, or to German East Africa. Therefore a different system of mandate was set up there. But if members of the House of Commons look at the conditions of the mandate, they will find there conditions which apply in respect of the British colonies throughout the world now—freedom of conscience and religion, prohibition of the slave trade, arms, and liquor traffic, prevention of the establishment of fortifications, military and naval bases, military training of the natives other than for police purposes. You will never have great armies for aggressive purposes. You will have equal opportunities for trade and commerce. We have allowed that in all our colonies without distinction. You will find that the conditions of the mandate described here are conditions we have ourselves always applied in respect of British colonies throughout the world.

Under this mandate the responsibilities of the British Empire have been enormously increased. Something like 800,000 square miles have been added to the already gigantic charge which is now upon the shoulders of this Empire—a charge which it has undoubtedly fulfilled in a way that has won the wonder of the whole world. Constantly I heard references to British administration, its efficiency, its fairness, its gentleness to the natives, the confidence which it established everywhere. That was a common matter of observation throughout the whole of this great conference in Paris.

The other great condition of peace is the Labour Charter which has been added to this document. It is a matter of very vital importance for the future of the industrial conditions of the world. It is intended to secure better and more uniform conditions of labour, and when you bear in mind that three-fourths at least of the Army which won this great victory were drawn from the working-classes of various nations, you feel that they have won the right to a corner of their own in this great treaty. I am very glad that, largely through the initiative of my right hon. friend the member for Glasgow (Mr. Barnes), this Charter has been added to the treaty.

Competition is becoming keener, but the markets of the world have been invaded by the low-paid countries where the conditions are very degraded. The mere existence of these conditions in other countries makes it difficult to effect improvements in our own industries, particularly with regard to child labour. Now I hope that by means of the machinery which is set up in this document it will be possible to establish some permanent means by which you can raise the level of labour throughout the world, and not handicap the countries that are treating labour well in the neutral markets when they have to compete with the lands where labour has inferior conditions. Now that is the great

purpose of this great charter, and I have no doubt that these conferences will in themselves—conferences representing workmen and employers of labour, as well as officials of Government departments—promote good-will and a better understanding amongst the nations of the world.

The victory, the fruits of which are scheduled in this treaty, has been a tremendous one—a tremendous achievement—and no country has had a greater share in that achievement than the British Empire. I make no apology for referring to that, because I am a little afraid that we have not informed the world, and I am not sure that we have informed ourselves, as to the splendid part which this great commonwealth of nations, known as the British Empire, has had in this the greatest achievement in the history of the struggles for human freedom.

Let me give one or two figures. I wonder how many men here in the centre of government know the number of men raised by the British Empire for its Army and its Navy in this war? The British Empire raised 7,700,000 men. The amount of money raised by loan and revenue for the conduct of the war was 9,500 millions. That is the biggest contribution made by any country. The total casualties of the Empire have been over three millions. Its Navy and its great Mercantile Marine—I had to refresh my memory about these gallant soldier-sailors, who, without demur, without fear, without delay, responded to the call of duty and kept the traffic of the world going, fed the Allies, supplied them, and gave strength to their armies—had fifteen thousand killed. The Mercantile Marine and the Navy kept the seas. Without them the war would have collapsed in six months.

In the last two years of the war—and here is a fact that is little known here or abroad—the heaviest fighting, judged by casualties, was undertaken and carried through by the armies of Britain—the heaviest fighting in France—and, in addition to that, whilst we were carrying the heaviest share of the burden there in the matter of hard, ruthless, relentless fighting with British doggedness and resistance, the armies of Britain had the whole burden of the attack upon the Turkish Empire, and brought it down crumbling to the dust by the strength of British arms.

I think we are entitled to call attention to that. It is a great record for a country that, at the beginning of the war, had only an army which was treated with contempt. It shows what can be achieved by a great people united and inspired by a common purpose.

Let us rejoice over victory. But let us rejoice as men who are not under the delusion that all our troubles are over, but rather like men who feel that the first and the worst of our troubles are passed, and that the spirit, the courage, and the resolution which enabled us to overcome those will also enable us cheerfully to face what is to come.



Let us not waste our strength prematurely in fighting each other. The time may come when it may be necessary in order to keep us in trim. Do not do it prematurely. We are not out of our troubles yet. We have no strength to spare if we are to save—and I say this in all solemnity—if we would save this country from sinking under its burdens and its wounds. The revelations of the war are to be profited by in trade, in industry, in commerce, in the health of the people, in their housing conditions. We want to make the most effective use of the resources of the land of our empire. We want to make all reasonable men contented; unreasonable men will never be content, even if you place them in paradise.

Let me refer to this loan. We lent thousands of millions to sow the seeds of victory; let us lend hundreds of millions to garner in the harvest, so that it shall not be rotten. The losses of the war will take a deal to repair. Reparation is not a matter of receiving German coins; that, at least, is a small part. We must each and all of us give such instalments of strength, of good-will, of co-operation, and of intelligence as we can command. The country needs it—every grain of it. The

strength, the power of every land has been drained and exhausted by this terrible war to an extent one can hardly realise. They are bleeding at every vein, and this restlessness which you get everywhere is the fever of anæmia.

There is a tendency in many quarters to assume that now we have won the victory and peace is established all will come right without any effort, and that plenty will spring up unaided from the bloodstained ground, and that all that is left is to scramble. Let us first of all see that there is something to scramble for. What have we got? Output diminished, cost of production increasing—that is exactly the opposite road to that which leads to prosperity. Even Bolshevik Russia is beginning to realise that that method of procedure is one which brings nothing but hopelessness, and it is gradually trying to escape from it.

Let us think together, act together, work together. I beg that we do not demobilise the spirit of patriotism in this country. Keep it in the ranks until the country has won through to its real victory. That spirit alone won us the war; that spirit alone can bring us real and glorious triumph.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE WORLD ALLIANCE.

[SPECIALLY COMMUNICATED TO "GOODWILL".]

The Annual Meeting of the American Council of the World Alliance was held in New York, in the Brick Presbyterian Church, on Thursday, May 15th.

Previous to the meeting, invitations were sent to the prominent leaders in all the religious denominations of America, including the Roman Catholics. Seventy delegates responded and were present at the opening session.

The Rev. Wm. P. Merrill, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church and President of the American Council of the World Alliance, opened the sessions.

The key-note address was given by Bishop Luther B. Wilson, who took for his subject Jesus' miracle of stilling the sea. He appealed strongly to the Christian forces of America to recognise, first, the extreme seriousness of the present world situation, and secondly, the inability of purely human powers to meet the needs of the time, and closed with a fervent appeal to the Churches of Christ to put their confidence

in that Power alone which is above all human power and which alone can speak the word of peace.

The Secretary, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, reported regarding the changes that had been made and the new plans for the Commission's work. The programme as presented by the Secretary embraced these four points:—

(1) "To secure the Christianisation of international affairs; the awakening of the Church in all its branches to a sense of the international meaning and responsibility of Christianity.

(2) "To stimulate discussion with a view to intelligent judgment on the problems of world organisation, world justice, and to infuse the spirit of Christianity into the League of Nations.

(3) "To enlist and organise Christian forces for common thought and concerted action in matters of international righteousness and goodwill.

(4) "To foster just and friendly relations between our country and all other countries, and to fight against all attempts to destroy the good feelings between the different races and nations."

The plan of the Committee was to organise their own country so that America might take its place and share in the common work of the international organisation of the Churches. They proposed to secure a Committee on co-operation in every community in America.

The programme for the Local Committees would be organised on a community basis in addition to the denominational and local church basis.

All efforts to reach the community through its churches and through individuals would usually function through this Committee.

The Local Committee would foster the organisation of study groups and should function as the special group in each locality charged with the responsibility of educating the community in all matters pertaining to better international relationships and a better world order.

Each Local Committee would endeavour to seek out in its community one or more groups of foreign born people and become acquainted with them and co-operate with existing organisations in extending to them the best that the community has to offer.

Reports were made by Drs. Frederick Lynch and Sidney Gulick, who had represented the American Council in an informal way at the Peace Conference in Paris.

Dr. George Nasmyth was endorsed for International Organiser, subject to his election by the International Committee of the World Alliance, which is to be held some time this year.

It was voted to request the British Council to co-operate with the American Council in arranging for this meeting, and it was the opinion of the American Council that the

meeting should be held late in September.

It was voted to authorise the Secretary to visit England immediately to make arrangement for this international gathering, and also to visit France for the purpose of enlisting the co-operation of the members of the French Committee in this meeting.

Interest was added to the meeting by reason of the fact that Belgium, Switzerland, and France were represented; Belgium in the person of Pastor Bloemaert, Chaplain-General of the Belgian Army, and the Rev. and Mrs. Henri Anet. Switzerland was represented by Pastor Adolf Keller, of Zurich; and France by Chaplain Leo, of the French Army.

The Conference closed with a banquet at the Astor Hotel, at which 150 guests were present. The speakers were Dr. Merrill, Monsignor Lavelle, of the Roman Catholic diocese of New York, the Rev. H. C. Herring, D.D., Secretary of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States, and Dr. Hamilton Holt, Editor of the "Independent."

The members of the American Council face the difficult future with faith and confidence. They look upon the League of Nations as offering the only possible hope for a solution of the world's problems. In their resolution they pledge to the League hearty support and co-operation, at the same time incorporating in the resolution their feeling of disappointment that the Peace Treaty did not safeguard the rights of minorities, nor guarantee racial and religious liberty.

The American Council will present before the International Committee meeting a resolution asking that the International Committee send to the first meeting of the League of Nations a resolution embodying these changes which are so imperatively demanded in the name of justice and permanent peace.

## THE WORK OF THE DUTCH BRANCH DURING THE WAR.

By Prof. Dr. J. W. PONT.

It was in the beginning of 1915 that Rev. H. J. E. Westerman Holstijn and Dr. J. A. Cramer, who had been at the Conference held at Constance,

August, 1914, took the initiative to establish a Dutch Branch of the "World Alliance of Churches." The resolutions adopted by this Conference

were made known in Holland. Many clergymen and laymen of various Churches had shown their sympathy; the Churches—except the Calvinistic—agreed to send delegates to the proposed meeting, and on April 12th, 1915, the Dutch branch of the World Alliance of Churches was formally established at the Hague. Because it was an "Alliance of Churches" the representatives of the Protestant Churches, the Dutch Reformed, the Evangelical Lutheran, the Mennonite, the Remonstrant Reformed, the Restored Evangelical Lutheran, the Evangelical, the Baptist, and the Old Catholic Church, formed the Council of the Dutch Branch. Dr. J. A. Cramer was elected Chairman, Rev. H. J. E. Westerman Holstijn Secretary, and Prof. Dr. J. W. Pont Treasurer. To promote knowledge of the principles of the Alliance and to do what lay in our power to give testimony to the real Christian feeling about war, we issued the Review "*Internationaal Christendom*" (ed. by Dr. J. A. Cramer and Dr. J. W. Pont), which found entrance into many circles.

In August, 1915, the International Committee met at Berne and framed the present organisation under the name of "The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches." This change of name made it possible for us to take into our Council also the representatives of Christian work in our country, so that now every Christian movement, with the exception already named, is represented in our Council. The Missionary Societies, the Bible Society, the Societies for Home Missions, the Societies for Deaconess work, the Evangelical Alliance, the Y.M.C.A., the Unitarians, and others, all have a representative in our Council.

Much work had to be done, unknown before, and therefore often very difficult. The Christian Churches in our country do not understand generally that they have not only to occupy themselves with their natural testimony, their preaching of the Gospel to old and to young, and their missionary work at home and abroad, but that they have to be the conscience of mankind. Therefore many of them are quite indolent with regard to international questions, and others do not believe that it is allowed to bring these questions into the pulpit. In the course of three years, however, much has changed, and we are very glad that in 1917 a "testimony for the governments and the peoples" has been issued by all the Protestant Churches of our country and read from many pulpits, for it was indirectly a fruit of the work of our Alliance.

Every year our Branch had its public meetings in connection with the annual meeting of the Council in the Hague, and also many others. In the first place I have to mention the meeting we had on December 26th, 1916, in St. James' Church, the Cathedral of the Hague. The peace proposal of the German Government brought us together, and the interest was so great that the church was crowded. Prof. Dr. Kohnstamm from Amsterdam,

Dr. J. Th. de Jussen, now Minister for Science and Art, Dr. J. A. Cramer, and Prof. Dr. J. W. Pont were on the platform. A manifesto was sent to the warring governments and peoples and letters of sympathy came from both sides to us.

Another meeting was held on September 10th, 1917, in connection with the Note the Pope had sent. We now met in the Williams Church, the largest Church of the Hague, which also was more than full. Now Rev. Dr. H. L. Oort, of Utrecht, Rev. P. Veen, Member of the Y.M.C.A. Board, Rev. J. A. Molenaar, of the Hague, Dr. Cramer, and Prof. Dr. Pont spoke about the longing for peace and the true way to bring it. Sympathy was shown with the action of the Pope, which the Roman Catholics did the following day in another manner.

In 1918 we organised in the Hague (Oct. 15th) a conference on the principles of the League of Nations as they were given by President Wilson and the League to Enforce Peace. On the 14th of October we met in two churches in the Hague to bring these principles before Christian people. Prof. Dr. J. de Zwaan, of Groningen, Rev. J. A. van Leeuwen, of Bloemendaal, Rev. J. A. Molenaar, of the Hague, Rev. L. W. Bakhuizen, v.d. Brink Secretary of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, Dr. J. A. Cramer, and Prof. Dr. J. W. Pont were on the platform, and much interest was shown, also for the theses, which were promulgated the following day.

All these meetings had a great attraction for the people, and we are thankful that we could reach so many and make clear to them the Christian principles of peace.

We worked, however, not only by these large meetings and conferences, but by our manifesto and our magazine, "*Internationaal Christendom*," of which 1,000 copies are issued and which is found in all our public reading rooms, but also by smaller conferences in different parts of our country. We also tried to make the first Sunday of August in every church a "Peace Sunday," and we know that from many pulpits on these Sundays came the message of the Christian principles of peace.

In 1917 we sent a token of sympathy to five clergymen of Berlin (amongst whom was Dr. K. Aner, whose pamphlet "Hammer oder Kreuz" is a strong protest against pan-Germanistic tendencies), who had asked the German Churches to work for a peace of righteousness. We made known this manifesto in Holland and asked our clergymen to sympathise with it. From many sides, from 250 of our clergymen we got very sympathetic answers, and sent them to our German brethren, who had so very difficult a position in their country. We also propagated the Swedish address to the Peace Conference at the beginning of 1919, and were glad that the larger part of our Christian Churches, representing nearly 2,000,000 of our people, sympathised with it.

We often had a difficult stand during these years

of the war, for our position amidst the warring nations was very delicate. There was no prevailing opinion in our country for or against one or other party; the only hope of the majority of our people was to remain neutral, and not to be brought into

war by wrong done to us. We have suffered for it, much more than the warring nations know. In these years our Dutch branch has tried to bring to the people the principles of real Christian peace, and we hope God will bless our work.

## THE FINNISH COMMITTEE DURING THE WAR.

The Finnish Committee of the "World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches" was formed in the Autumn of 1917.

The members of the Committee are the following:—

Professor Arthur Hjett, D.D., Chairman, Helsingfors, Jungfrustigen 2.

The Very Rev. J. A. Mannermaa, Dean of Uleaborg, Uleaborg.

The Rev. Erkki Kaila, D.D., the Vicar of Northern Finnish Parish in Helsingfors, Annegatan 14, Helsingfors.

The supplementary members:—

The Rev. Unno Paunu, D.D., the Vicar of the Parish of Walkeala, Walkeala.

The Rev. Edwin Wirin, the assistant chaplain at

the Deaconess House at Helsingfors; Kammiogatan 9, Helsingfors.

The Secretary of the Committee:—The Rev. Aleksi Lehtonen, B.D., Nylandsgatan 23B, Helsingfors.

The Committee was approved as a branch of the League of the Churches in the North at the Conference of delegates from the Northern Churches held at Copenhagen on the 19th November, 1917.

On the 1st December, 1918, the Committee published a call to the Church people of Finland to prayer for righteous peace and for social and international goodwill. In December, 1918, intercession services in connection with these subjects were held in Helsingfors. The visit of the Archbishop of Uppsala to Finland in March, 1919, served to strengthen the ties connecting the Church of Finland with the World Alliance of the Churches.

## THE FUTURE OF GERMAN MISSIONS.

MINUTE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN, HELD 2ND MAY, 1919, SENT TO THE BRITISH DELEGATES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

We feel it an urgent duty to call attention to the grave injury which will result to the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual welfare of millions in different parts of the world if provision is not made, at the earliest possible moment, for continuing the missionary work carried on before the war by German Missionary Societies in their own colonies, and in many other countries. The missionary work carried on by the Germans in the past has been very widespread. Hundreds of thousands have been educated and uplifted, and many of these have been made economically independent, and have become useful citizens of the various States to which they have belonged. Testimony to the value of this work has been borne again and again by British Governors and Administrators, and by independent travellers in India, South Africa, the Gold Coast, and elsewhere.

It is understood that it has been proposed to exclude, at any rate temporarily, all German missionaries and Missionary Societies from British possessions, that China is being urged to take a

similar course, and that it is likely that German Colonies handed over to mandatory Powers will be in the same position. If this were carried out, it is not impossible that some five-sixths of this splendid work would be terminated.

We desire to point out:—

(1) That any such policy of exclusion means that Christian enterprise becomes a matter for exclusive national treatment. This work should be essentially both international and supra-national, and to legislate for it on a merely national basis would be to mistake its contribution to the world-order.

(2) That temporary exclusion for more than a very short time (say twelve months) would be tantamount to permanent exclusion. There has already been a long interruption, and it will be difficult enough to resume the work in any case.

(3) That the Churches of Germany will have scarcely any opportunity for outward expression. This will surely lead to disastrous results for Germany and the world.

(4) That, on the other hand, a different policy would do a great deal to help in the strengthening of the best elements in German national life, and in enabling her to take a right and helpful place in the Society of Nations.

In view of these and other weighty considerations, we feel that a decision should not be made at once under the pressure of immediate political necessity alone, but rather in that independent way which also fully recognises all the extra-political factors in the situation. We therefore urge that all questions relative to future missionary work be referred to a special Commission, which, besides Government

officials, should include representative missionary leaders from the different countries, whose duty it shall be to discover means by which this valuable work may be continued, by which German missions and missionaries may, under suitable guarantees and safeguards, be re-admitted to the territories concerned, and to emphasise the supra-national character of the Christian enterprise.

We submit that, if such facilities are given, they will not be abused, that the dangers of admission are relatively very small, and that the opportunity in this way of working towards a better international understanding is very great.

## REPORT OF THE SWISS COUNCIL.

Pastor Herold has sent the following account of the activities of the Alliance in Switzerland:—

The Committee of the Swiss Branch of the World Alliance has held since the last conference of the churches, five sittings, all at Berne. Although, earlier, it had taken up a waiting attitude in the hope of a speedy end of the war with the idea that during the war nothing could be done, it has in the last year endeavoured to develop in two directions a certain amount of modest activity.

In the first place this took the form of the issue of the "Christliche Stimmen" ("La Voix Chretienne"), of which three numbers have appeared. Its aim is to collect from all the warring lands and make known all sorts of expressions of Christian love in the midst of hatred, and so to show that, in spite of the hideous confusion, many traces of noble humanity and genuine Christian fellowship appear, and all kinds of voices are heard inspired by the Spirit of Jesus Christ working for a conquest of hate and a reconciliation of the peoples.

These "Christliche Stimmen" appear in a German and a French edition of 2,000 copies each, the German issued by Pfarrer Keller of Wattwil; the French, by Pasteur Bornand of Moudon; the matter for each number is chosen by the Committee. The issues are circulated free of cost, and sent to all who desire them. At first they were sent to all pastors in Switzerland and to similar people who were likely to be interested. A special effort was made to introduce them also into the belligerent countries. Not only from Switzerland, but from abroad, many expressions of approval and encouragement have come in. The expenses are covered by funds placed at our disposal by the American Church Peace Union.

At the same time, earnest efforts were made in the past year to bring about an understanding among the Christian churches, in order to build up from this an approximation between the belligerent peoples and to open connections with a view to the establishment of friendly relations between the churches in the spirit of Christ. First there came a step from Eng-

land. In August, 1917, Mr. Dickinson in London, an enthusiast for the cause of international understanding, raised the question of conferences of representatives of the Christian churches. Since the time unfortunately appeared unpropitious for the assembling of a conference in which representatives of the two warring parties should take part with the neutral, he proposed two separate conferences, the one in London, the other in Berlin. In the first, the churches of the Allies, in the second those of the Central Powers were to come together. The neutrals were to appear at both, and to act as intermediaries between the two. The programme suggested the following points:—

(1) Consideration of steps to be taken in order to stir the Christians in all lands to co-operate in awakening the feelings of international goodwill and genuine reconciliation.

(2) A discussion as to how the Christian principles of righteousness and fellowship can be made effective in the solution of political questions and the permanent validity of international law and general peace.

(3) A humble search for the knowledge of the Divine Will with reference to the present conflict and the future ordering of human affairs.

These two conferences, unhappily, owing to internal and external difficulties, did not take place.

Our Committee proposed with regard to these latter that a general conference should take place in Switzerland. However, before anything could be done in this matter there came a suggestion from another side of such significance that Switzerland must needs yield preference to it. The bishops of the three Northern countries, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, Archbishop Söderblom of Uppsala at their head, issued invitations to a conference in Uppsala on December 14th-16th. All Protestant churches were to be represented. Unfortunately, the English and American representatives could not appear and, consequently, the Germans, who were ready to come, declined to visit the conference, so that, apart from the Scandinavian representatives, Holland and

Switzerland alone were represented. From our side, Professor Böhlinger of Basel was delegated. Difficult and troublesome as the journey was, the matter seemed too important to refuse participation. Professor Böhlinger was deeply impressed with the large-hearted and free and truly Christian spirit which filled the gathering. He has described the conference in No. 3 of the "Christliche Stimmen." The chief question discussed was this: "What can and should the Church do in order to work against hatred and mistrust between the peoples, so as to strengthen brotherly love and so avoid wars?"

In Uppsala there was opened a prospect of a second and larger conference to take place this spring. It was hoped that it would unite representatives in the first place of all Protestant churches and give testimony to the bonds of spiritual fellowship linking them. It was to give testimony that these churches, although outwardly separated, are inwardly bound together in one in the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

Our Committee was of opinion that such a conference was necessary, especially to put on record that the Protestant churches were not standing inactive in the presence of the hideous events in the world. The Committee believed, however, that Switzerland was better adapted for a great assembly than Scandinavia, which could be reached only with difficulty. This opinion was communicated to Archbishop Söderblom, of course, with the feeling that such a change should only take place through an understanding with him, since he had rendered such great services in the matter. Confidential enquiries were also made in different lands, whether there was an inclination to send delegates to a small confer-

ence, which should carefully prepare the programme for a great assembly from all Protestant countries to take place in Switzerland in the spring. In this matter Dr. Nuelsen, Bishop of the Methodist Church in Europe, residing in Kilchberg near Zurich, rendered us distinguished services. He has long been active in efforts for an understanding among the churches; he has connections in all lands; and by means of these he was in a position to take soundings everywhere.

Unfortunately, the efforts were in vain. On the one side the Scandinavian bishops gave important reasons in favour of Uppsala, and they hoped to be able to give invitations to that place for September. It would have been ungracious on our part to insist upon Switzerland in opposition to their wishes. On the other side, the French Protestants speedily declared that they could not take part with the Germans in a conference. Further, the Americans expressed themselves of opinion that a meeting was inadvisable as long as the war lasted. What was still possible in August, 1915, at Berne, appears now no longer possible.

Thus, the prospects of a gathering in which the subjects of the various belligerent parties take part have become very dark. It is necessary to exercise patience, and to wait for the moment when it is possible to rebind the torn threads. There is no lack of goodwill, and on the one side we can reckon upon the Scandinavian bishops, and especially Archbishop Söderblom; and on the other side, upon the Englishmen, and among them especially, members of the Society of Friends who long and labour that the members of Christian nations should learn again to understand one another.

## THE POSITION OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

### An Explanation.

*To the Editor of GOODWILL.*

Dear Sir,—

I notice on page 273 of "Goodwill" for March a report under the heading "Society of Friends," in which Lord Gainsford is represented as saying that "the Society was prepared to support the use of force in the last resort to secure the aims in which they believed."

May I point out that the deputation in question was not from the Society of Friends, but from a section only of that Society, and that the official pronouncements of the Society entirely oppose the use of force? Enclosed is a copy of the official

address sent by the Executive of the Society to President Wilson.

I am, yours faithfully,

JOHN H. BARLOW

(Clerk, Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends).

Sunnybrae, Selly Oak, Birmingham,  
22nd April, 1919.

[The official address enclosed is that printed in full in our last issue on page 267. The report to which our correspondent's letter refers was taken from the "Manchester Guardian," though a footnote giving the source was inadvertently omitted.—Editor, GOODWILL.]

## GENERAL SMUTS'S FURTHER MANIFESTO.

## A FAREWELL STATEMENT ON LEAVING ENGLAND.\*

As I am leaving England to-day on my return to South Africa, I wish to say a few parting words of farewell to all my friends. I had intended to say on the public platform what I am now going to write, but my departure has been hastened, and no occasion for a speech has been found.

From the bottom of my heart I wish to thank the British people who have not hesitated to honour and trust one who was once their enemy. My own case is a striking instance of how the enemy of to-day may be the friend and comrade of to-morrow, and must in these difficult days make all of us realize how important it is to practise moderation and restraint in the expression of our feelings towards those who were yesterday our bitter enemies.

Certain things have to be said to-day, though I find great and general unwillingness to say them. The position I have occupied in this country and the fact that, under very difficult circumstances, I have taken a most active part against the Germans from the first to the last day of the late war, give me the right to say them without giving offence to anybody.

The protest which I issued on signing the Peace Treaty has called forth a vast correspondence, which shows a widespread agreement with the views I hold on that document, as well as on the international situation generally. Deep as my disappointment was with many important features of the Treaty, I did not protest in bitterness or from any desire to criticise. The past is done, and must be accepted as a fact; the future is before us to make or mar. And I spoke with an eye to the future, with a desire to create the right spirit wherewith to confront the difficult situation before us.

In spite of the apparent failure of the Peace Conference to bring about the real and lasting appeasement of the nations to which we had been looking forward, our faith in our great ideals should be kept untarnished. The sting of bitterness should be taken out of the great disillusion which is overtaking the peoples. Instead of sitting down in despair as reactionaries or anarchists, we should continue to march forward with firm step as those who have the Great Hope.

The fundamental significance of the war has been the victory of the spirit, of the moral over the material factors of life. Germany had entered upon a vast venture in materialism, and

had constructed the most tremendous mechanical apparatus of victory which the world had ever seen. But the neglected moral factors, the public opinion of mankind, the outraged conscience of the nations, in the end avenged themselves, and inflicted the most signal defeat on the forces of scientific materialism. Spirit has triumphed; the apparently weak moral elements which constitute the motive forces of human progress have been vindicated in a way which will make this war one of the most significant landmarks in human history. The victory has been not to the strong, but to the finer, more generous elements in human nature. The great ideals of progress have won through; that is the real and abiding significance of this war and its tremendous conclusion.

If that is so, then this war should leave no lasting bitterness behind it in the minds of the peoples. The baser elements of human nature have been defeated in the enemy; they should not re-establish themselves in the victors. The tremendous spiritual élan which carried us through the great struggle should not now make way for barren hatreds, abject fears, base greeds. Now more than ever should the banner of the spirit be borne aloft by all of us, as at once the symbol and secret of victory. *In hoc signo vinces.* The ethical human factors have vindicated themselves in a way which is little short of miraculous. It is therefore most right and proper that we should practise the great Christian qualities of mercy, pity, and forgiveness, which constitute the very essence and differentia of our religion.

If all this is true and admitted, the political application to international affairs follows quite obviously. There must be a real peace between the nations; the word "reconciliation" has to be writ large on our skies. Our hearts have to be emptied of all bitterness and hatred, and the memories of war atrocities should not harden our hearts against the revival of a new international life.

No, it is not a case for hatred or bitterness, but for all-embracing pity, for extending the helping hand to late friend and foe alike, and for a mission of rescue work such as the world has never seen. Europe is and will for this generation be the greatest mission field in which the energies of the great-hearted people of this country and America could be spent. And the gospel will be that original one of "goodwill among men," of human comradeship beyond the limits of nations, of fellow-feeling, and common service in the great human causes.

All this applies to Europe generally, but I

\*This important document (taken from the *Westminster Gazette*, July 18th, 1919), appears when this issue of "GOODWILL" is in the press, and hence is not included in its place among the foregoing declarations.—ED.

wish to add a word in reference to Germany and Russia in particular, as the situation is too grave to permit of any shrinking from the frankest expression of opinion. The brutal fact is that Great Britain is a very small island on the fringe of the Continent, and that on that Continent the 70 odd million Germans represent the most formidable national factor. You cannot have a stable Europe without a stable, settled Germany; and you cannot have a stable, settled, prosperous Great Britain while Europe is weltering in confusion and unsettlement next door.

Russia is an even more obscure and difficult problem than Germany, and one on which no dogmatic opinion would be justified. But from all the information which has come into my possession I am seriously doubtful about the sort of policy which we seem to be pursuing there. Russia can only be saved internally by Russians themselves, working on Russian methods and ideas. She is a case of national pathology, of a people with a sick soul, and only Russian ideas could work a cure. Our military forces, our lavish contributions of tanks and other war material may temporarily bolster up the one side, but the real magnitude of the problem is quite beyond such expedients.

Leave Russia alone, remove the blockade, adopt a policy of friendly neutrality and Gallio-like impartiality to all fractions. It may well be that the only ultimate hope for Russia is a sobered, purified Soviet system; and that may be far better than the Czarism to which our present policy seems inevitably tending. If we have to appear on the Russian scene at all, let it be as impartial benevolent friends and helpers, and not as military or political partisans. Be patient with sick Russia, give her time and sympathy, and await the results of her convalescence.

We have a good deal to set in order in our own house. The Dominions have been well launched on their great career; their status of complete nationhood has now received international recognition, and as members of the Britannic League they will henceforth go forward on terms of equal brotherhood with the other nations on the great paths of the world. The successful launching of her former Colonies among the nations of the world, while they remain members of an inner Britannic circle, will ever rank as one of the most outstanding achievements of British political genius. Forms

and formulas may still have to be readjusted, but the real work is done.

There still remains the equally important task of properly locating the great Dependencies, like India and Egypt, in the free democratic British League. Recent severe troubles in both Dependencies mentioned serve to remind us that no time must be lost in boldly grappling with this problem. It is a task to be approached in an open mind and with the fixed determination here, too, to realise those principles of freedom and self-government without which this Empire cannot continue to exist in the new time.

The Dominion solution will obviously not apply, but it may be found possible to reconcile native self-government with a system of expert advice and assistance, which will replace the dead hand of bureaucratic domination by the lighter but no less effective touch of the friendly hand. The problem is capable of a practical solution, and precedents for dealing with it are not entirely wanting.

But most pressing of all constitutional problems in the Empire is the Irish question. It has become a chronic wound, the septic effects of which are spreading to our whole system; and through its influence on America it is now beginning to poison our most vital foreign relations. Unless the Irish question is settled on the great principles which form the basis of this Empire, this Empire must cease to exist. The fact that Irishmen cannot be made to agree may have been a good reason for not forcing on a solution during the war; but now after peace the question should be boldly grappled with. Our statesmen have just come back from Paris, where they have dealt with racial problems like that of Ireland, and in every way as difficult as the Irish problem. They may not shrink from applying to Ireland the same medicine that they have applied to Bohemia and many another part of Europe.

And this brings me to say finally a word on questions of a more domestic character in this country. There are difficult days ahead for this country, and this nation will be tested as never before in the searching times that are coming. The greatest hurricane in history is raging over the world, and it is idle to expect that we shall be able to shelter ourselves from its effects. Vast changes are coming, and are already beginning to loom into sight. There is no formula or patent medicine that will see us through this crisis.





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